The hiſtorie of wyates rebellion, with the order and manner of reſiſting the same; whereunto are annexed certayne conferences touching the deprivation and depoſing of Quene Marie late Quene of this realme, and the ſeruice of the saule of their late diſorder.

Made and compyled by Iohn Proctor.

Mense Decembris.

Anno 1554.

¶ In the ende ye shall
fynde a table, directyng to
the principal poinctes con
teyned in this booke.

¶ To the moſt excellent and moſte vertuous ladye our moſte gracious Soueraigne, Marie by the grace of God Quene of Englande, Fraunce, Naples, Hierusalem and Irelande, Defendour of the faith, princeſſe of Spaygne & Sicille, Archeducheſſe of Austeria, Duchеſſe of Millaine, Burgundie and Brabant, Countеſſe of Hapsburge, Flaunders & Tyrole, your Maieſties moſte faythfull, louynge, and obedient ſubiectes, Iohn Proctor, wyſheth all grace, loue, peace, quiet raygne, from God the father, the ſonne, and the holy Ghoſt.

¶ THAT I haue alowed, moſt gracious ſouereigne, for a neceſſary purpoſe in all ages, as ſtories do witnes, that the ſedicious enterpriſes of the wic-

bed, whiche haue at any tyme
attempted with traytorous force
to subuert or alter the publike
state of their countries, as also
the wise and vertuous policies
of the good, practised to pre-
serue the common weale, and to
repell the enemies of the same,
should by writing be committed
to eternal memorye: partly that
they of that age in whose tyme
such things happened, mought
by the oft reading conceiue a cer
taine gladnes in conslideryng
with them selues, & beholding
as it were in a glasse, frō what
calamitie and extreme ruine, by
their polycie & wisedome their
natiue countreis were deliuered,
beholdyng the great misery & peril
they them selues haue escaped:
partly for a doctrine and admo-
nition

nistri learning bothe for the pre-
sent & future tyme: but cheifly
and principally that the trey-
tours themselues, who throughe
hatred to their prince or coun-
trey shall either of their owne
malicious disposition be stirred,
or els by other peruerse counsel
therunto induced, may alwaies
haue before their eyes the mise-
rable ende that happeneth as
iust reward to al suche captiues
as either of ambition not satis-
fied with their owne state wyll
seke preposterously to aspire to
honoure, or of malice to their
prince wyll entre into that hor-
rible crime of preuie conspiracie
or open rebelliō. The industrie of
writers doth sufficietly declare
in a numbre of stories that con-
spiracie & treason hath alwayes

 turned

turned to the authours a wretched & miserable ende, & if these persones happen at any tyme to escape temporal punishment, as rarely they haue done, yet their names, spicially of ꝑ notorious & ꝑincipal offenders, haue ben alwales had in suche vile & odible detestation in all ages & among all nations, as for the same thei haue been euer after abhorred of all good men. These general considerations mouing other to indict and perue stories, moued me also to gather together and to register for memorie the meruellous practise of Wyat his detestable rebellio, little inferior to the most daungerous reported in any history, either for desperate courage in the authour, or for the monstruous end purposed by his rebellion. Yet I thought nothing

thyng lesse at the beginning then
to publishe the same at this time
or at this age, minding onely to
gather notes therof where the
truth mought be best knowen,
(for the which I made earnest
and diligent inuestigation) and
to leaue them to be published by
others hereafter to the behof of
our posteritie. But hearing the
sundry tales thereof farre disso-
nant in the vtterance, & many
of them as far wide frō truth,
factioned from the speakers to
aduaunce or depraue as they
fantased the parties: and vnder
stādyng besydes what notable
infamie sprange of this rebellio
to the whole countre of Kent, &
to euery nēbre of ȳ same, where
sundrie & many of them to mine
owne knowledge sherped them
selues

A iiij.

ſelues moſt faythfull & woꝛthy
ſubiectes, as by ỹ ſtoꝛie ſelf ſhal
euidently appeare, whych either
of haſt oꝛ of purpoſe were omit-
ted in a pꝛinted booke late ſette
furth at Cãterbury. I thought
theſe to be ſpeciall cõſideratiõs,
wherby I ought of duetie to my
countrey to compyle and digeſt
ſuche notes as I had gathered
cõcerning that rebellion, in ſome
foꝛme and fachion of hiſtoꝛie, &
to publiſhe the ſame in this age
and at this pꝛeſent, contrary to
my firſt intẽt, as well that the
very truth of that rebellious en
terpꝛiſe mought be thꝛoughly
knowen, as that alſo the ſheire
wheꝛe that vile rebellion was
pꝛactiſed, might by opening the
full truth in ſome parte be deli-
uered frõ the infamy whiche as

by

by repo̅rt I heare is made so ge-
neral in other shyres, as though
very fewe of Kent were free fro̅
Wyates conspiracie: most hum-
blie beseching your highnes to
take this my trauell in so good
and gracious parte, as of your
graces benigne & gentle nature
it hath pleased you to accept my
former bookes dedicated vnto
your highnes. Wherby I mynde
nothinglesse then to excuse or ac
cuse any affectionately, but to
set furth eche mannes doynges
truely accordyng to their deme-
rites, that by the cõtemplation
hereof both the good may be in-
couraged in the execution of per
fite obedience & vnspotted loyal-
tie, and the wicked restrained
from the hatefull practice of
suche detestable purposes.

To the louyng reader.

THe safe & sure recouration of paynes and perils past, hath present delectation (sayeth Tullye.) For thinges, were they neuer so bitter and vnpleasaunt in the execution, being after in peace and securitie, renewed by report or chronicle, are bothe plausible and profitable, whether they touched our selues or other.

Beynge thus in this poynte persuaded (louynge reader) I thonghte it a trauaple neyther vnpleasaunt for thee, nor vnthankeful for me, to cõtriue the late rebellió practised by Wyat,

in

in forme of a chronicle as thou seest. Whereby as I meane not to please the euyl, nor displease the good, so I muche desire to amende the one by settinge before his eye the lamentable Image of hateful rebellion, for the increase of obedience: and to helpe the other by setting furth the vnspotted loyaltie of suche as aduentrously and faithfullye serued in this daungerous time, for the increase of knowledge and policie the better to repelle the like dangers, if anye hereafter happen.

And further although hereby I couete not to renewe a feare of a daunger past, yet would I gladly encrease a care and studie in euery good mannes hart to auoyde a like daunger that

maye

may happe, and moste tymes hap
peneth, when a daunger with
much difficultie auoided is not
sufficient warninge to beware
of the next. I haue forborne to
touche any man by name, Wyt
ne onelye except, and a fewe o-
thers which the Story would not
permitte to be left out. Yet take
me not that I meane to excuse
anye mans faulte thereby. For
what shoulde I shewe my selfe
so ingrate or vnnaturall vnto
my countrymen, as
wantinge to blame them for the
woorkes, whome eyther their
owne goodnesse, or the queen-
nes surpassinge mercie woulde
to be sorrowed at, this time.
And although I touch some by
name, terminge them in certaine
places traitours and rebelles,

iuste

and sleyes of their deseytes, yet (God is my witnes) I do it not of malice or enuye to anye of their persons. I neuer hated anye of them, no not myne owne selfe: whome, although he was vtterly vnknowen vnto me, yet for the sundrie and singular gifts, wherewith he was largelye endued, I had him in great admiration. And now I rather pitie his vnhappie case, then malice his personne. And doe muche lament that so manye good & commendable qualities were abused in the seruice of cursed heresie, whose rewarde was neuer other then shamefull confusion, by one waye or other to all that followed their waies. Gentle reader, if thou suppose I haue not fully set forth

the

the whol cafe al as it was I ſhal not againſai it. neither thought I it neceſſarie ſo to doe, but ra= ther ſo much as for this time might be both plauſible & profi= table, & ſhuld ſatiſfie ſuch poyn= tes as in ꝑ dedicatorie epiſtle ſo ꝑ quenes maieſtie are expreſſed. Hereafter it may be ꝑ further be ſayd touching this matter. In meane tyme ꝑ haſt no iuſt cauſe I truſt to be offended wᵗ this my preſent enterpriſe, either for the maner of handlinge, or for the matter herin handled, the one hauynge ſufficient perſpicuitie, and plaines, thother ful trueth: for which I haue made ſuch di= ligent inueſtigation, as I haue found it, & haue herin expreſſed the ſame, eſpecially ſo much as concerneth Kent.

VALE.

VALE.

Cwyates rebellion, with the ozdze and maner of reſiſting the ſame.

WHAT a reſtleſſe euil hereſie is, euer trauailing to bzing furth miſcheif, neuer ceaſing to pzotrude all thoſe, in whoſe hertes ſhe is receiued to confuſion: by what plauſible allurementes at her entrie ſhe catcheth fauourable intertainement, with what waies of craft and ſubtelrie ſhe dilateth her domunion, & finally howe of courſe ſhe toyleth to be ſuppozted by faction, ſedition, & rebellion, to the great perell of ſubuerſion of that ſtate where as a plague ſhe happeneth to fynde habitation, aſwell the lamentable hiſtozie of the Bohemians & Germaines, with al o-

The daũgerous nature of hereſy

ther treating of like enterpzises by heretikes, as also Wyates late conspiracie pzactised with open fozce, doth plentuously declare. Who as it should euidētly seme by the trade of his life and the late disclosing of him selfe, was so feruently affected to heresie (although he labozed by false persuasion otherwise to haue coulozed it) that burning inwardly with a pzepensed treason in his bzest, foz the cōtinuāce of the same within the realme, he persuaded to him selfe suche an impossibilitie therein (the Quenes highnesse pzospering & bearing ȳ scepter of high gouernaunce) as could by no meanes be bzought aboute without rebellion, the onely refuge as I saied that indurate heretikes haue

Herely the speciall grounde of Wyates rebellion.

Rebellion the only refuge of heretikes.

haue alwaies sought for maintenaunce of their heresie, liuing vnder a Catholike prince. He therfore beyng thus inflamed could no lenger conteine, but immediatly vpon the beginning of the Quenes most happy reigne forsaking his habitation in the countrey, went to Lõdon, of purpose to stirre the duke of Suffolk & his brethren, with others of power in further countreis, whom he knewe to be like affected to heresies, and cõsequently to burne in semblable desire for continuaunce of the same: Leauing neuertheles suche behind him in Kent to solicite his and theirs vnhappie case, whom he knew so much addicted therunto as in his absẽce for their diligence in such a ministerie neded

wyat ver
suaded that
the quene
heresy could
not raigne
together.

wyates re
payre to L
dõ to styr
other to hi
rebellion.

no ouerseer. He remayned in London, tyll he thought hym selfe throughlye furnyshed euerye waye, and euery where wyth in the realme to attempte his determined enterpryse, when apte time shoulde serue. Whiche done, he retourned into Kent, not of purpose then to procede: But vnderstãding his strength practised there by his agẽtes to set thinges in order, and so to returne to London, abidynge the time appoynted therefore by hym and his complices. But so it befell in the meane time, that at his beynge in the countrey, the counsell committed a gentleman of that shyre to warde, one to Wyat aboue all other moste deare, wherby the com-

Wyates returne into Kent.

mon

mon bzute grewe, that he ſuſ-
pectynge his ſecretes to be re-
ueled (and bpon that occaſion
to be ſent foz by the coũſel) felt
hym ſelfe, as it were foz hys
owne ſuretie, compelled to an-
ticipate his time. But whe-
ther that were the cauſe oz no,
doubtfull it is. But certayne it
was, that Wyat thẽ pzoceding
in his deteſtable purpoſe, ar-
med him ſelfe, and as many as
he coulde: And geuinge intelli-
gence of his determination to
his complices, as well at Lon-
don as els where, the Thurſ-
day after at Maydſtone in the
market time, beiyuge the .xxv.
daye of Januarye, in the fyrſte
yere of the Queenes raygne by
pzoclamation in wzityng, pub-
liſhed his deuilliſhe pzetence.

Wyat preuented the tyme.

The firſte day of Wyates ſtyrre at Maydſtone.

The cause why wyat made not religion the outwarde pretence of his rebellio

And considerynge with hym selfe, that to make the pretence of his rebellion, to be the restoring or continuaūce of the new and newelye forged religion was neither agreable to the nature of heresie (whiche alwaye defendeth it selfe by the name and countenaunce of other matter more plausible) neyther so apte to further his wicked purpose, beyng not a case so general to allure al sortes to take parte with hym: he determined to speake no worde of religion, but to make the colour of hys commotion, onely to withstand straungers, and to auaunce libertie. For as he made his full reckonynge that suche as accorded with hym in religion, would wholye ioyne with hym in that

The colour of wyates rebellion.

rebellion

rebellion: So he trusted that the Catholikes for the moste parte, woulde gladlye imbrace that quarel agaynst the straungers, whose name he tooke to become odible to all sortes, by the seditious and malicious reporte, whiche he and hys had maliciously imagined and blowen abrode agaynst that nation, as a preparatiue to theyr abhominable treason. His proclamation therefore published at Maydstone, and so in other places, perswaded that quarell to be taken in hande only in the defense of the realme from ouer runnynge by straungers, and for thaduauncement of libertie. Where in very dede, hys onely and very matter was the continuaunce of heresye, as by

Wyates pre paratiue to his rebellio

hys owne wordes at sundrie times shall hereafter appeare.

And to thende the people should not thinke that he alone with a fewe other meane gentlemen, had taken that traytorous enterprise in hande without cõfort & ayde of higher powers, he vntruly & maliciously added further to his proclamation, by persuasion to the people, that all the nobilitie of the realme, and the wholle counsell (one or two onely except) were agreable to his pretenced treason, & woulde with all theyr power & strength further ỹ same which he found most vntrue to his subuersion. And ỹ the lorde Aburgaueny, the lorde Warden, syr Robert Southwell, high shyreffe with al other gentle

Wiates vntrue persuasions to further his rebellion.

flemen wold ioyne with him in this enterprise, & set theyr fore by his to repell the straungers.

This proclamation, and such annexed persuasions made at Maydstone on the market day, and in other partes of the shire, had so wrought in the heartes of the people, that diuers which before hated him, and he them, were nowe as it seemed vpon this occasion, mutually reconciled, and sayd vnto hym. Syr, is your quarell onely to defend vs from ouerrunning by straũgers, and to aduaunce libertie, and not agaynst the Queene? No, quod Wyat, we mynde no thynge lesse, than anye wise to touche her grace: but to serue her, and honour her accordynge to our duties. Well quod they,

How wyates vntrue persuasiõs abused the people.

The nature of an heretike is to say one thinge and thinke another.

geue vs then your hande, we wyll sticke to you to deathe in this quarell. That done, there came to hym one other of good wealthe, saying: Syr quod he, they saye I loue potage well, I wyll sell all my spones, and all the plate in my house, rather than your purpose shall quayle, and suppe my potage with my mouthe. I trust, quod he, you wyll restore the right religion agayne. Whiste quod Wyat, you may not so much as name religion, for that wil withdraw from vs the heartes of manye: you must only make your quarrell for ouerrunnyng by straungers. And yet to thee be it sayd in counsell, as vnto my frende, we mynde only the restitution of Gods word. But no wordes.

Wyates owne wordes to proue hereby to be the ground of his rebellion,

By

By these his wordes it appeared, that his principall intent was not to kepe out straūgers, whiche commonlye doe not inuade to oure hinderaunce, but by rebellion amongest our selues: nor to aduaunce libertye, whiche euer decayeth through treason: but to aduaunce heresye, the Lady regent of his life and doinges. This same thursday as Wyat, Thomas Isleye, and others were occupied at Maydstone with proclamations to styre the people, & suche lyke: so were others his confederates occupied in like maner by proclamacions at Mylton, Ashforde, & other townes in the East partes of the shyre. Through whose allurementes the multitude were growen so

earnestlye

earnestlye affected to Wyates purpose, that they suffred maister Christopher Roper (a man of good worshyppe, and so esteemed of the) to be taken of Wyates ministers, and caried out of the market place, without any maner of rescue, for that he hauinge his heart and eye full fixt vpon the Queene, not onelye withstode the readinge of Wyates traiterous proclamation at Milton, but also in ȳ same place proclaymed him, and all hys traytours. And beynge roughlye charged therewith by Wyat and other his galauntes, when he was broughte to Rochester, he answered: this tonge spake it, and doeth now auowe it. They suffred maister Tucke also, & maister Dorrel of Calehyll

Thappreh-cion of maister Christopher Roper by ȳ rebels.

maister Christopher Ropers words to Wyat.

hyll being gentle men of good wurshyppe, and Justices of peace, to be taken oute of theyr houses by the rebelles and conueyed withoute anye maner of rescue, in the daye tyme to Rochester, beinge twentye miles distant, where they wyth maister Roper were kepte as prisoners, in greate daunger of life. In lyke maner syr Henrye Isleye, Antonye kneuet, William kneuet with others, were at Tunbrige, Seuenocke, and other townes in the West partes of the shyre, styrrynge the people by alarummes, drummes and proclamations.

The happy rehersion of maister Tucke and maister Dozell.

Nowe ye shal vnderstād that the euening afore the publishing his pretence at Maydestone, Wyat sent a letter by one Thomas

How Wyat wrote to the sheriffe of his entēt to styrre.

mas Wonde (a man of muche honestie) to sir Robert Southwell beyng Shreif of the shyre, vnto whom long afore, as I can vnderstãde, he had neither spoke nor writte̅ other the̅ in defiaũce, they beyng in contencion for maters of religion, as it was saied. Neuertheless to serue his purpose, dissembling his great malice and haut courage, he wrote a letter to him of suche effect as foloweth.

The effect of wyates letter to sir Robert Southwell Shreif of Kent.

After heartie commendations, there hath been betwene you and me many quarelles and grudges, and I euer the sufferer, and yet haue you sought the ende whiche

is

is nowe frendlye offered vnto you, if you bee willing to receiue it. But whatsoeuer priuate quarell you haue to me, I doubte not but youre wysdome is to muche, seyng so manye perilles at hand to vs both (this pretensed mariage taking effect) to dissent from vs in so necessarie a purpose, as wherin we nowe determine to entre for the common wealthe of the whole realme. And that you may the better vnderstand our pretence, I send you the copy of our proclamation comprehending the somme and effect of our meaning. whervnto if the commen wealth shal fynde you an enemie, saye not hereafter but that you were frēdly warned. we forbeare to write to the lorde Aburgaueny, for what you may do with him, if you list, we know.

The

The style of wyates proclamation.

A proclamation agreed vnto by Thomas Wyat, George Harper, Henrye Isleye, knightes, and by diuers of the best of the shyre, sent vnto the commons of the same.

Wyates false presumption of the best of the shyre.

FOrasmuche as it is now spred abrode, & certainly pronounced by the lorde Chauncelour and other of the counsell, of the Quenes determinate pleasure to marry wt a straũger: &c. we therfore write vnto you, because you bee oure neighbours, because you be our frendes, and because you be Englishemen, that you wyll ioyne with vs, as we wil with you vn to death in this behalfe, protestyng vnto you before God, that no other yearthly cause could

Because.

moue

moue vs vnto this enterpryse, but this alone, wherein we seke no harme to the quene, but better counsel & coũselours, which also we would haue forborne in all other thinges saue onely in this. For herein lieth the helth & welth of vs al. For trial herof & manyfest proose of this intended purpose: Lo now euen at hand, Spaniardes be nowe already arryued at Douer, at one passage to the nombre of an hundreth passing vpwarde to London, in companies of ten, foure and vi. with harnes, harquebusses and morrians with match light, the formest company wherof be already at Rochester. We shall require you therfore to repaire to such places as the bearers hereof shal pronoũce vnto you, there

Such coũ-
selours be
meaneth as
woulde to-
uour here-
&c.

Lo loud li-

to assemble & determine what may be best for ỹ aduauncement of libertie and commen wealth in this behalfe, & to bring with you suche ayde as you may.

The ende of the yates proclamation.

The messenger that brought the letter with the proclamatiõ from Wyat to the Shreif being not preuie to ỹ contentes therof and hauing charge vpon his life to returne an answere with all spede, importuned the Shreife so muche therfore (although he saw hi greatly busied in geuing aduertisement throughout the shyre of Wyates trayterous determinatiõ) as he neuertheless to satisfie the messenger, whom he knowe to bee a right honest man

man notwithstanding his dili-
gence was abused in so leude
a message made him answere
out of hand as followeth.

The Shrieues answere to the messen
ger that brought Wyates letter.

NEyghbour Monde, ra-
ther to satisfie your im-
portunitie, the to answer
Wyates letter, whom in this
case I disdaine to answere, or to
speake with you apart coming
from a traytour, you may say
vnto him that as in dede I haue
been desirous of his frendship
for neighbourhoodes sake, so
haue I muche more desired his
reformation in diuers pointes
of great disorder, whereby he ren

fainly knew as well by my speche to him selfe, as other meanes cõming to his knowledge, that I haue sithens the beginning of the Quenes reigne holden him and some of his coleges in this cõspiracie vehemently suspected for like matters as nowe they haue attempted. Wherein seyng he hath not deceiued me, but by opening him selfe hath manifestly verified myne opinion conceiued of him, I purpose not to purchase his frendship so deare, as for the gaine of him to lose my selfe & my posteritie in perpetual infampe. And if suche thinges whiche his fonde headde hath wayed for perilles, to the condempnation of the whole wisedome of the realme (thei allowing the same for good) had been in

in deede as perilous, as he with others, for want of due consideration, deemeth them, his duetie had been to haue opened his opinion therein as an humble & reuerent petitioner to the Quenes highnes, or to some of her graces counsell. But for pretense his soueraigne in any suite or vpon any occasion with weapon & armour by sturring her subiectes to rebellio, that is and alwaies hath been accompted the parte of most arrogant and presumptuous traytours, and so do I note him and his mates as you may tell them, & shall God willing prouide for the accordingly. Howe goodman Wonpe it shalbe in your choyse whether you will carie this message or no. But as your frende I shall

aduise you to seeke out better company. The messenger excusing himselfe by ignorance, departed to Wyat with answere. And soone after returned to the Shreef vnder whome he serued the quene very faithfully.

The Shreef being made prisoner (as ye haue heard) by Wyat to his dayterous defence the night before he stirred, and wanting no good will as it should seme, with the helpe of the lord Aburgauenny, who was as forward as he to haue resisted the reading of Wyates proclamation at Wandelbens the day following, and to disparse his force, sent for gentlemen and yeomen in all hast to ayde. But afore he could gather power mete to attempt the repressing of suche a force (sundry of hys neighbours

bours of greatest possessions & townes moste populus, whiche shuld haue ben his cheife aide, being cõtrarie bent) Wyat accõpanied wt a force well armed & weponed marched to Rochester.

The same Thursdaye Harper and other metynge hym in the waye, where fortifying the East partes of the towne, and breaking vp the bridge towardes the West, he abode the comming of his appointed stregth, sufferynge all Passengers to passe quietly throughthe towne to London, or to the sea, takyng nothinges from them but only they? weapon. And beyng the Fridaye all daye at Rochester, and not hearynge from Allyne, the captayne of Tunbridge, and other his coũrates of the West parte of the shyre, he adzelled an

earnest letter the Saterdaye morninge to Ifleye, the Knevetes, and other, wyth the sowne of Tunbridge, requiringe them to accellerate their comming vnto him. Accordinge wherevnto Ifleye, the Knevetes, with other, beinge newlye returned from Penshurste, where they rifled Syr Henry Sydneye hys armourie (he beynge attendaunt vppon the Queenes highnes as a faithfull subiecte) perceyuyng Wyat to longe for their commynge, resolued to obserue theyr promise, & marche forwardes that nighe towardes Wyat. But vnderstandinge that the Lorde Abergauenny, the Sheriffe, and George Clerke hadde nowe gathered a force, and were

The rifling of Syr Henry Sidneye

preſt to encountre them, firſt for they departed out of ỹ towne, thought it good by ſome wiſe of proclamation to alienate the peoples hearttes from them, as they dyd in maner folowyng.

The copie of the proclamation made at Tunbridge by ſyr Henry Knyuet, Antony Knyuet, and his brother with others.

YOu ſhal vnderſtand that Henry Lord Aburgauenye, Robert Southwell knight, George Clerke gentleman, haue moſt traitrouſlye to the diſturbance of the common wealth, ſtyred and rayſed vp the Queenes moſt louing ſubiectes of this realme, to defend the moſt wicked & deuiliſhe enterpriſe, of certen of ỹ wicked

and

and peruerse coũselours, to the vtter confusion of this her graces realme, and the perpetuall seruytude of all the Queenes moste louynge subiectes. In consideration wherof, we syr Thomas Wyat knight, syr George Harper knight, syr Henry Isleye knight, Anthony Kneuet Esquier, with all the faithfull Gentlemen of Kent, and trusty commons of the same, do pronounce the sayde Henry Lorde Aburgaueny, Robert Southwell, and George Clerke gentleman, to be traytours to God, the crowne, and the common wealthe.

This done, with all spede calling their company together by the noyse of drummes, and leauinge theyr directe waye to

Rochester

Rochester, for that they would not come vnder the wing of the Lorde Aburgauenye and the shirefe, thei marched thatnight to Sevenocke. Takinge order with suche as were left behinde in the towne, that they shoulde be in a readines to come when so euer they shoulde be sent for by Wyat, & that by no wayes they shoulde beleue any tales, for quod they, the counsell will nowe sende abrode flyinge lies and tales, to discredit vs, and discomforte you, for it is their policie. Antony Kneuet after he was scapt to his horse, toke one by the hande, and said: fare you well. And if you happe to heare that I am taken, neuer beleue it, for vndoubtedlye I wyll eyther die in the felde, or

or achiue my purpose. But within. xviij. houres he brake his promise, and ranne awaye no faster then hys legges could carye hym.

Well, I shal now leaue them marchyng to Sevenocke, and returne to Wyat at Rochester. This present saterday came vn to him frō the quenes highnes an Herauld and a trumpetour. Wyat at the founde of the trumpette came to the brydge, where the Herauld was with his cote armour carryng the armes of Englād on his back. But Wyat without vsing any reuerence to him, either for his cote or office, would not suffre him to come in to the towne to declare his message, and pretyng to come in he offerd

The Heraulde cōminge to Rochester.

offered to stricke him: wherupō the herauld staied & did himself age there, so that onely Wyat with a fewe with him heard it. Which as men could gather by report of them that hard it, was promise of pardone to as many as would retire to their houses within .xviij. houres after the proclamation, & become good subiectes. But Wyat wouldo not suffer his souldiours in any wise to heare it, nor anye other proclamation commynge from the queene. In the meane time also lyr Thomas Cheyne lorde Warden, beinge a moste faithfull and noble subiecte, had sent him suche salutacions as of honour oughte to be sed to a traitour. And beinge verie desirous to be doing with him, and

The lorde wardens greetyng to Wyat.

and to pzate on his bodie what
in wozdes of greetinge he had
affirmed, felt yet by his discre-
tion and long experience great
causes of staye. For Wyat desi-
red nothing mozethen his com-
minge furth, perswadinge that
he wanted no frendes about
him, noz any other that woulde
take in hande to repzelle hym
wyth fozce gathered in that
shire. And vndoubtedly doubt-
full were the heartes of the
people, and mercyfoullye bent
to fauour Wyat and his pur-
pose, as by daylye euentes ap-
peared. The lozde Aburgauenny
and the shzeff, who the Sater-
daye next after Wyates styze
were at Malling in the waye
towardes Rochester (where
Wyat lay) hauing with them a
company

companye of well appoynted
subiectes, in whome not with-
standing for the more part they
had good opinion of trustines
and honestie, yet hauing the ge-
nerall cale of the peoples disposi-
tion in theyr eye, and not with-
out cause, suspectinge in theyr
bande amongest so many faith-
full & good some suche to be, vp-
on trust of whose trustes and
bzitell ayde, it were no good
pollicie to aduenture farre, pon-
deringe therewith that this il-
lusion of the people whereby
they were so farre drawen from
their righte course and duetie
grewe chiefly by suche craf-
tye and false persuasions as
Wyat and his mates had set
furth in sundrie partes of the
shyre, by waye of proclamation

in

in writinge, wherin amonge o-
ther grosse lies they hadde set
furth also matters of vntrueth
to discredit the lorde Aburga-
uenny and the chyrefe, as Wyat
in his persuasions, that they
woulde ioyne with him. And
Sleye in his proclamation, that
thei had traiterously assembled
the Queenes louing subiectes
agaīst her grace & the realme.
It semed vnto thē very good &
necessarye to spende some time
at Malling in aduisinge and
lerninge the multitude, and by
waye of exhortatiō to impugne
thole traiterous proclamatiōs,
and refell suche grosse and false
lies therein conteigned, and fi-
nally to disuade the people (which
that day being the market daie
were assembled to a great nū-

bze of al sozres yrch the traitozs and
their wicked attemptes. And accoz
dingly the shireffe had penned an ex
hozration to ỹ purpose, which was
pronounced out of wozdig in Malling,
& sent after by him into other par-
tes. The hearig whereof, did bndoub
tedly much moue the people, as after
shall appeare. I shall repozt the
same in substãce truely: howbe it
not fully i the same fozme & maner,
as I found it, & as it was penned
& pronounced by the shireffe. Who in
his exhortatiõe & setting furth thereof,
soughe not to speake plainly & touch
that ply as the the present tyme and
cause imployed vehement occasion.

An exhortation made by sir Robert Southwel knight shirreffe of Kent, at Malling the Saterday, being the xxvi. day of Ianuary, and market day there to a great assemble of people, refelling and cõfuting wyat and his complices traiterous proclamations, wyat being at Rochester iiij. miles distant.

LOuinge neighbours & frendes, where of late there hathe been moste pestilent & trayterous proclamations, as ye haue heerde recited by Thomas Moyat, George Harper, Henry Alley, & others, as moste arrant traitors to the quene & the realme, some of the the quenes auncient enemies afore time, & double traitors, yet notwithstãding, accomptyng the selues to be the best of the shire in their proclamatiõs, & in the same reputing & pronõcing other for traitors, whõ ye all can witnes to haue been ofte time to time, true & faithfull subiectes to the quene & this our cõmon weale: as the L. Abbot gauerny here present, my self & other gentlemen now prest & readie with you, according to our duetie, to serue our noble quene. I shal neede to spek the selfe tyme to declare vnto you, howe euil theis de, or howe euil their enterprise

enterpryse is, that thei haue take in hand: for almuch as this their arro gãt presũption & presũptuous pride in aduãcing thẽ selfes so far frõ al trueth, & in deprauing of other so maliciously for executing their boundē duetie, ought abũdãtly to persuade what they be to al of consideration without further circumstance. But for as much as in their proclamations, thei fil ỹ eares of ỹ queues liege people with grosse & manifest lies to styre thẽ against her grace, in thutterãce wherof thei vse this demonstration, to, signifiyng some notable thing ueare at hand for credit woze, thie impression in their memorie, as, lo, a great nũbre of strãgers be now arriued at Douer in harnes, with harquebusses, morias & matchlight. I say vnto you neighboꝛs & frẽdes vpõ paine to be torne in peces with your hãdes, that it is vntrue & a ma

wiefl lie, inuented by the to prouoke
& irritate the quenes simple people
to ioine with the in their traiterous
enterprise. And therfore I haue per
fect hope, that you being afore time
abused with their craftie & dereitful
treasō, will not now ones againe hā
uing experience of their former euil
be trapped for any persuasiō i so hai
nous a snare as this most vile & hor
rible crime of treasō. Do you not see
& note y as in the beginninge of the
quenes most gracious raigne, some
of the sought to depriue her grace of
her princely estate & rightful digni
tie, minding to aduāce therunto y
ladye Jane doughter to the duke of
Suffolk. So are thei & others newly cō
federed wt the duke & his brethre, be
ing f armes at this present for y same
purpose, & dailt lokig for aidof thefe
traitors & other of their cōspiracie
as by the quenes most gracious let

ters

ters signed wt her owne hãd & redis
to be read here, may plainly apeare
vnto you: And wil you now neuer=
theles ayde the any waies, or sit stil
whyles they go about thus wrong=
fully & traiterously to depose their &
our most gracious soueraigne lady
& quene, the cõfort of vs al, the staye
of vs al, thonly sauegard of vs al, to
whõ can no displeasure or daunger
chance, but the same must double re
dounde to all & euery of vs? No frend=
des & neighbours, I trust neuer to
liue to se you so far abused. Thei go
aboute to bleare you wt matters of
strãgers, as though thei should come
to ouerrun you & vs also. He semeth
very blinde and willyngly blinded
that will haue his sight dimed with
such a fond mist. For if they ment to
resist strãgers, as thei mind nothing
lesse: thei wolde the prepare to go to
the sea coastes, & not to the queues

most royal person with such a cõpa-
ny in armies & weapõ. Ye can cõsider
I trust, this noble gẽtlemã the lord
Aburgauenny here pr̃sẽt being of an
aũcient & great parẽtage, born amõg
you, & such other gentlemẽ as you se
here, which be no strãgers vnto you
my selfe also (although a poore gẽtle-
mã, who I trust at no time hath ab
used you) hath sõwhat to lose as wel
as thei, & wold be as loth to be ouer
run with strãgers as thei, if any such
thing were ment. But for that we
know most certẽly that ther is ment
no maner of euil to vs by those strã
gers, but rather aide, profit & cõfort
against other strangers our aũcient
enemies, with whõ they as most ar-
rãt & degenerate traitors doun deal
vnkindly & vnnaturally laine: we in
her graces defẽse wil spẽde both life
& what we haue beside to the vtter
most peny against thẽ. Wel, I can no
more

more now I say vnto you, but vnder-
standing ye queenes highnes as a most
mercifull princesse to be ones again de-
termined to pardon as many as by
their traiterous & deceitfull procla-
mations, & other illusions wer allured
to this late treasō, so they repaire to
their habitations within prinū. hou-
res after her graces proclamation
read, & become true subiectes to her
grace, to adiure such as hath taken
part with those traitours, or haue
withdrawē them selues cōtrary to
their allegiaūce, frō the aiding & ser-
uing of their soueraigne, accordig to
their duties against her enemies,
thakefullye to accept & imbrace her
most gracious pardō, & vse inames
of the selues to apprehend those ar-
raut and principall traitours, and
& make a present of them to the que
nes highnes, or leaue the to the sel-
fes as most detestable traitors: who

being

beig once so gracyously & mercifully
forgeuē could not but cary the clemē
cie of the same in their hartes to the
furtherance of all obedience wherin
thei liued, if ther had been any spark
of grace in thē. And further I haue
to say vnto you, that as these traitors
by their proclamatiōs without autho-
ritie haue moued you to ryse against
the quene your soueraigne, & apoin
ted you place, wher to mete & cōsult
for & furtherāce of their traiterous
purpose, & to bryg with you such aid
as you cā, so shal I require you, & in
her graces name charge you that be
here present, not to come there, but
that you & such as be absent taking
knowledge herby, repair to such pla
ces as I the queues shireffe & officer
shal appoint you, with such ayde as
you can bring for the better seruice
of the quene & the ryze, where you
shalbe assured to receyue comforte,

thankes

thankes, and honestie to thende of your liues and your posteritie. And thother waye but endles shame and vtter vndoinge to you and yours, whyche shall be worste to your selues, and yet a greate griefe to vs your neyghbours, whose aduise in al other your priuate causes you haue been content to folowe, & nowe in this waightiest that maye be or maye happen to you, wyll refuse vs and folow them that haue euer abused you to your and their vtter confusion.

At Mallynge the seuen and twenteth daye of Ianuarye.

Anno Mariæ primo.

God saue Queene Marye and all her well wyllers.

The shiriffe reading this exhor
tation caused one Barrham a
gentilman and seruaunt to the
lord Aburgaueny to pronounce
it as he reed it, so loude and soo
distinctlie as the people assem-
bled rounde aboute him to a ve-
rie great nomber in maner of a
ring mighte easlie here and vn-
derstand euerie word proceding
frō Barrham, who of his owne
head cried out vnto them: You
maye not so muche as lyfte vp
your finger against your kinge
or quene. And after the people
had heard the Shiriffes exhor-
tation & cried God saue quene
Marie, whiche they did moost
hertely, spending therin a con-
uenient tyme, the shiriffe vsed
these wordes vnto them. Mai-
sters quod he, although I as
lone

lone did speake vnto you, yet what wordes were spoken too you by me were also spoken to you by the lorde Aburgauenye and all the gentilmen here present, in whose persons I then spake and now require at your handes a plaine and resolute answere. Will you nowe therfore ioyne with suche as you see euidentlie to be arrãt traitors, orels with the lorde Aburgauenie and suche gentilmen as you see here present, that wil lyue & dye with you in defense of oure rightfull quene against these traitors? The people with one voice defied Wyat and his complices, as arrant traitours, and saied that they nowe well espied they hadde but abused them. Wherfore in defense of quene

The sheriffes speech to the multitude.

The peoples answeere to the sheriffe.

Marie they woulde dye vpon them, expressinge their mindes with suche earnest shoutes and cries as shewed to procede vnfainedly frō their hartes, which after was confirmed by a better experience the day folowing as ye shall anone here. But by the waye ye shall vnderstande that Wyat heringe of this proclamation, saied: I knowe that Barram well, but yet I neuer tooke him to haue so wyde a throte, if I lyue I maye happen to make him crowe a higher note in a nother place. What trowe ye should then haue become of the authour? In the Sundaye followinge the lorde Aburgauenny the shiriffe and the rest of the gentlemen were determined to haue merched in

Wyates promise of barrams reward.

the

the morninge earelye towardes Rochester to haue aided the duke of Norfolke and sir Henrye Gerninghā captain of the garde then being at Grauesend towardes Wyat with a certain bande of whitecotes to the nomber of .vi. C. sent vnto them frō London, wherof Bzeet and others were their captaines. Roger Appulton gentilman was also at Grauesende with the duke attendant to serue where in lykewyse was Thomas Swan gentilman.

The duke of Nork. & sir Henrye Gernighās commynge to Grauesende.

Roger Appulton and Thomas Swan trustie gētilmē.

This saterdaye at night the lorde Aburgauenny suspectinge that Wyat and hys complices lyynge within foure myles of them, and beinge so muche prouoked in that they were in the day so rightly set forthe in their

colourēs at Walling would for reuēge worke some anoyaūce to the or his bande ỳ nighte, either by a cāmasado or by some other meane, did therfore to preuent the same set a strong watche in in the market place at Walling and other partes of entrie into the towne: and gaue the watch word him selfe before he would take any rest. But betwene one & two of the clocke in the night when euerie bodye was taken to rest sauing the watche, there happened a larom, sundry crying: treason, treason, we are all betraied, in such a sort that such as were in their beddes or newlye rissen thought verely that either Wyat with his band had been in the towne, or verie nere: The thing was so soden & happened

The lorde Aburgaue: ny set the watch ỉ person.

A larom at Walling.

pened in suche a tyme as men not acquainted w̄ like matters were so amased, that some of them knewe not well what to do, and yet in thend it proued to nothing: for it grewe by a messenger that came verie late in the night desiringe too speake with the lorde Aburgaueny or maister shiriffe to giue them certaine aduertismēt that sir Henrie Isleie, the twoo kneuetes and certaine other with .v. C. weldishe menne were at Seuenocke, and would merche in the morning from thence earlye towardes Rochester, for the aide of Wyat againste the duke of Norff. and in theire way burne and destroy the house of George Clarke aforesaied. Wherupon the lorde Aburgaueny and the

A meaning of ỹ rebels to burne maister George Clarkes house.

The merching of the lord Aburgaueny and the shiriffe too incounter Jlleye.

sheriffe by thaduice of the gentilmē afore named, for that the saied Clarke had bene a paiuful and serusable gentilman, chaūged their purposed iourney frō Rochester, to incounter with Jsley and his bande, to cutte them from Wyat & saue Clarke from spoyle. And so in the morninge earely beinge sundaye The lorde Aburgaueny the shiriffe, Warram, Sentleger, Richarde Couert, Thomas Roydon, Anthony Weldon, Henrye Barnet, George Clarke, Johan Dodge, Tho. Watton, Heughe Catlyn, Thomas Henley, Christopher Dorrell, Heughe Cartwright, Johan Sybyll Esquiers, Thomas Chapman, James Barram, Jasper Jden, Johan Lambe, Walter Heron-

den

den, Walter Taylor, Johan Raynoldes, Thomas Tuttelham, Johan Allen, and Thomas Holdiche gentilmen with yomen to the nomber of.bi.C. or ther aboute merched oute of Malling in order till they came to Wrotham heath where they mought easely here the sounde of the traitours drommes, and so makinge hast pursued them till they came to a place called Barrow grene, thorough which laye the right and redye waye that the traitours shoulde take merching from Sevenocke towardes maister Clarke.

Wrotham heathe.

Barrowe grene.

The lord Aburgaueny beynge verye glad that he had preuented them in winning the grene, sent out spialles to understand their nerenesse, and to discriue

their numbre, repolinge them selues there tyl the retourne of his spialles, who at their comminge, saide that he neded not to take further paynes to pursue them. For thei were at hand commynge towardes him as fast as they could marche, whiche was glad tidinges to the Lorde Aburgauenye and hys bande. And taking order furthwith to sette his men in a raye, he determined to abyde theyr commminge, and there to take or geue the ouerthrow. Whiche the traytours vnderstandyng, whether it was for y they misliked the matche, or the place to fight, whiles the lord Aburgaueny and his band were busye in placing them selues, they chrancke as secretlye as they

The shrinkyng of the rebelles.

coulde

coulde by a bye way. And were so farre gone before the Lorde Aburgaueny vnderstode therof by his spialles, as for doubte of ouertaking them afore their comming to Rochester, he was driwen to make suche haste for the ouertakinge of them, as diuers of his fote men were farre behinde at the onset geuing.

The first sighte that the Lorde Aburgaueny coulde haue of the after they forsake their purposed way, was as they ascended Wrotham hyll directlye ouer yaldam, Maister Peckams house, where they thinkinge to haue great aduauntage by the winning of ỹ hil, displaied their enslignes brauelye, semynge to be in great ruffe. But it was not longe after or theyr corage was

The displaying of the rebellis enslignes.

was abated. For the lord Aburgaueny, the shyreffe, and the rest of the gentlemen, with such other of the queenes true and faythfull subiectes, as with great paynes takinge to clyme the hyll, and to holde waye with the horsemen, ouertoke the rebelles at a fielde called Blackesoll fielde in the parishe of Worotham a mile distant frō the very top of the hyll, where the lorde Aburgaueny, the shyreffe, the gentlemen aforenamed, and other the quenes true and faithfull subiectes handled them so hotte & so fiercly, & after a smale shot w̄ longe bowes by the traytours, & a fierce bragge shewed by some of the horsemen, they tooke their flighte away as fast as they coulde. Yet

The rebels ouertaken.

Blackesoll fielde.

The skyrmishe.

of

of them were taken prisoners aboue thre skore. In this conflict Warram Sentleger (who brought with him a good company of souldiours, & alwaies a seruisable gentlemā) also George Clarke, Anthony Weldon, and Richarde Clarke wt others did very honestly behaue thē selues. Willia Sentleger hearing of a frate towardes, betwene the Queenes true Subiectes and the traitours, came to the lord Aburgauenis into the field with all haste, not an houre before the skirmishe, who with the rest of the gentlemen, with certaine of the Lorde Aburgauenyes and Wytrekes seruauntes, beinge all well horsled serued faithfullie, and from thence chased the horsemen till

thei

The chase of the horse men.

thei came to a woode called Hartlei woode foure miles distant from the place where the onset beganne. The Queenes true subiectes did so much abhorre their treason, and had the traitours in suche detestation, as with greate difficultie anye escaped with life that were taken prisoners, and yet were thei al verie wel armed & weaponed and had also great aduantage by the place of fight. Sir Henrie Isleye laye al that night in the woode and fleed after into Hāpshire. The two Kneuettes being wel horsed were so hastely pursued, as thei were driuen to leaue theyr horse, and crepe into the woode, and for haste to rippe their bootes from their legges, and runne awaie in thy

vam-

dampage of their hose. The chase continued so longe as nighte came on before it was full finished. Thus was Illey, the Kneuetes and their bande ouerthrowen by the faithfull seruice of diuers gentlemen and yomen seruinge vnder the lord Aburgaueny and the chyefte, whose forwardnesse, corage, and wisedome, in this trayterous broyle, no doubt was verye muche prayse worthie, as wel for theyr spedie acceleration of their strength, which (considering how they were euery way compassed with the traitours) was no small matter in so litle space, and for their wise and politike handlinge also in kepinge them together from Wyat, who merueylouslye and by

by sundrye wayes sought to allure them away. For had not they in their owne persone to the incouraginge of their companye aduentured farre, and by theyr wisdome, discretion, and greate charge, politikelye hadled the matter, some thinke that Wyat had been at London before he was loked for by anye good man, with no smale trayne: whose iourney was greatly hyndered and his companye very muche discomfited by this repulse geuen to Illeye and his band. Where amongest other thinges Gods secret hād was greatly felt to ꝑ great comfort & present ayd of true subiectes against the traitours, who hauinge suche aduauntage of the place (as in dede thei hadde)

were

were lyke rather to giue then receiue so foule an ouerthrowe. But this it is (you see) to serue in a true cause, and her whome God so fauoureth, that he wyll not suffer the malice and rage of her enemies at anye tyme to preuayle against her, to whome he hath giuen so many notable victories and soo miraculously, that her enemies might be sure rather to haue ben ouerthrowne by Gods then banqueshed by the power of men. The lorde Hunsdon with the shiriffe and the gentlemen with them, after they had geuen humble thankes to God for the victorie (whiche they did verie reuerentlie in the fielde) & taken order for the prisoners, were driue to deuide the selues for want of harborough, and

Thankes geuen to GOD for victorie.

vttrafte for the foundacions that
had well deserued bothe. The
lorde Abergauenny and certen
with hym went to Wrotham.
The shirriffe & certen with hym
to Otforde, where they hadde
made ye to doo forget threats for
ye to withdrawe. The lorde A-
bergauenny and the shirriffe fur-
nesing that some of theyre gen-
tilmen lately discouered in this
falsenesse, durste not longe tar-
rie in the realme but made shifte
to passe the seas, peell, and by spe-
all vnderstandinge Wyat him
selfe with some of his company
thereunto bente, deuised to laye
the countree aboute that they
thought not escape. And consid-
ring that they wouldde not bee
as Bouer nor in that costre, they
knowing the lorde Abergauenny

haue liche watche vnto them,
but rather for sundrie respec-
tes at Rye or more southwarde,
and hauinge greate prouide of
Thomas Worrell the yonger
his fidelitie vnto the retorned the
same Worrel being newly come
vnto him with his men well
appointed and Stiffe, geuing
him streight charge that con-
sulting with Sir Johan Gaylo-
fforde, they should both day and
night haue sure watche for the
passinge ouer of that traitor to the
sea coste, and that there to raise such
ayde as were meete vnto suche, wher
as yf the traitor commynge out of
those partes should passe to the
reste of the traitors.
Anthony Kenuet, notwithstan-
dinge great and streighte watche
layed for the

by the shiriffe for thappzehenſi-
on of him and other that fled,
arriued that sundaye at nighte
late at Rochester, where his
newes were so ioyful, that Har-
per furthwith sounds the meane
to ridde him selfe out of their co-
pany without any leaue taking,
and ran to the duke of Norf.
to whome he semed so greatly
to lamente his treason, that the
duke peteinge his pardon (the re-
ther for the longe acquaintaun
betweene them in tymes paſſe)
receiued him too grace. But
within a day after he ran from
the duke and returned to his
olde mate, as hereafter shal ap-
pere. Soo yat hearing of Fleye
his ouerthrowe, and vnderſtan-
dinge by the proceding at Ro-
linge the day before that thoſe

Harpers
running a-
way from
Wyat.

thinges

kynges lette further in his pro-
clamations, wherby he thought
his strength at home to be most
surely knit vnto him, were now
become rather a weakenninge
then otherwise: the people there
being redie to fall from him for
his so abusinge of them, he fell
into so great extreme anguishe
and sorowe, as writing a letter
of expostulation to some of his
familiars abrode, in reprehensi-
on of theire infidelitie, in that
they sticked not to him soo fast
as they promised, he bedewed
the paper wherupon he wrotte
with teares issuing so abundāt-
lye from his eyes, as it woulde
beare no inke, and so leauing to
write, calling for a preuie cote
that he had quilted with angels
not longe afore, which mought

wyats be-
wailing his
case with
teares.

wyatscote
of fece quil
ted with
aungelles.

ſerue bothe for his defenſe and
refuge for his neceſſities being in
a nother countree, he practiſed
with ſuche as were nere vnto
him where they mought haue
redie paſſage and moſt for their
ſuretie to take the ſea. For En-
glande ſaied he is no place for
vs to reſt in: His company alſo
ſhranke frō him as faſt as they
could deuiſe meanes to eſcape:
Wherunto Thomas Iſleye and
others hadde a greater reſpect
then him ſelfe, he ſeming to take
care for nothinge, but howe he
mought ſafely conuey him ſelfe
beinge well frended, as it was
thought with ſome of the ſhip
maiſters.

Wyates practiſe to flye by ſea.

Thus was Wyat ſo mated by
the lorde Aburgaueny, the ſhi-
riffe and their bande, as he was

Wyat mated.

at

at his wittes ende, as ye haue
heard, and chefely by keepynge
him from that, whiche by ſpiall
about him they afterwarde vn-
derſtode him ſpecially to deſire,
whyche was offer of battaile: he
and his beinge fully perſuaded
that there coulde be no greate
force raiſed againſt him in the
ſhire, whereof the mooſt parte
ſhould not be his when it ſhould
come to the ſhewe. Wherin al-
though he mought be deceiued,
as in dede he was, yet his quar-
rell with the diſpoſition of the
people therunto well conſide-
red, with the end of his traueil,
whiche coulde be but ſpoyle and
rauen redye meanes and lures
to draw the careles multitude
vnto him: It ſemed to the lorde
Aburgaueny & ſuche as ſerued

with him better pollicie to weſte Wyat and weaken him by the cutting away of his ſtrēgth from him, then to offer him battaile til the duke of Norffolkes commynge: whome the lorde Aburgauenny & the ſhiriffe knewe to be at hande towardes Wyat: vnto whom they and all the gentlemen of their band after their ſkiemiſhe with Alley, made the haſte poſſible they myghte.

But before their commynge the caſe was wonderfully chaūged to the great diſcomforte of all the quenes true ſubiectes: and that came to paſſe that of al mē was leſt feared. For who was it that ſuſpected ſuche cruell & malitious diſpoſition to remaine in any Engliſhe heart towardes his countree, in anye

ſubiectes

subiectes thought towarde his Soueraygne, that receyuyng her graces armoure, weapon, and moneye, woulde haue plaied so traiterous a part as theise captaynes did with their bande. It is so straunge a case as the woorld neuer saw. It is so malicious a part, as the Jew would not haue done the like, hauynge receyued hys hyre to serue.

So it was that the noble Duke beynge an auncient and worthy captayne, & yet by long imprysonment so dislwonted from the knowledge of our malicious woorld, & the iniquitie of our tyme, as he suspectinge nothinge lesse than that whiche folowed, but iudgynge euerye man to accorde with him in desier to serue truelye, marched

furthe the Mondaye aboute tenne of the clocke in the mor-nynge from Grauesende to Strowde towardes Rochester, and aboute foure of the clocke in the after noone of the same day, he arriued at Strowde nere vnto Rochester, hauinge wyth him the captayne of the garde, Griffith Morgan nowe bishop of Rochester, Sir Edwarde Brayc, lyz John Fogge knightes, John Couerte, Roger Appulton esquiers, and Thomas Swan gentleman, with certayne of the garde, and other to the numbze of C C. oz there aboute, besides Bzet and other fiue captaynes, who with theyz bande beinge sixe hundzed all in whight cotes taryed behinde at a hyll called Spittell hyll, nere

The dukes marchinge frō Strowde to Rochell.

The names of the gentlemen serуing vnder the duke.

Bzet chiefe captain of ỹ whitcotes.

vnto Strowde, whyles the
duke went to Strowde to see
the planting of the ordinaunce.
Whiche beinge readye charged
and bent vpon the towne of
Rochester, and perceyuynge
Wyat and the other traytours
by hangynge out of theyr flag-
ges vpon the bridge wall, to be
in great hauerie, whiche consi-
derynge the miserable state they
were in the nyght before coulde
not be (hadde they not recey-
ued some newe comforte by
some trayterous meane,) the
duke commaunded one of
the peces to be fired for shotte
into Rochester. And as the gun
ner was fyeringe the piece, syr
Edwarde Wraies eldest sonne
came in all the hast to the duke
saying, Sir did not I tell your

grace

grace this morninge that yonder
false wretches wold deceiue you
How knowe you that quod the
Duke. why syr (quod Braye) you
maye see them as false trayrours
bent against you. And immedi-
atly Bret and other captaines
of the whitcoates with their
bande beinge vpon the hyll and
at the backe of the Duke, made
greate and loude shoutes sun-
drie times cryinge: we are all
Englishe men, we are al Englishe
men, fashionynge themselues
in araye readie bent with their
weapons to set vpon the Duke
if he had made any resistaunce.
Whereupon the Duke and the
Captaine of the Garde com-
maunded the pieces that were
bent vpon the towne, to be
tourned vpon Bret and his
bande

The resolu
of the cap-
taines to ꝑ
whight co-
tes & their
bande.

Harper re-
tourned to
his olde
faire mate,

saine promises that he should
inherytable that Wyat should
haue yelded. Whan Cottinge &
the other captaynes with his
souldyers were gone to Wyat.
I promised you a good tourne,
and say it not now: but I haue pay
ed it. Who had seen the embra-
synges & kyssynges and congra-
tulations that there were betwene
them, they would haue iudged
them to be the moost louynge
brethren that euer were one to
another. Then they began to
gether: & the rather they ioyned vnto
them selues vnto
Rochester. When this of all o-
ther moste surprised the chaunce
came to the knowledge of the
Lorde Aburgauenny: & the hy-
nesse of their frendes, they were
moste lyke troubled with the
strangeness of the case, muche
doubting

bondringe that the people wholi
ly before seemed to be brought
to good quiete, wolde be un-
quyed by this alteration, and
thinge as there before could dispos
sed would not be greatlye al
tered thereby.

The shirefte beinge the same
night at Maydstone, that had
come the same daye from Ro-
chester sondrie myles distante
to meete with Thomas Guil-
forde, Steuen Wozell, Ed-
mond Hayden, John Robarkes
and John Fynche Esquiers, to
marche towardes the Duke,
and in the morninge so farre
from any mistrust of that whyl
the followed the same daye to
Rochester, as hauinge no sure
place to conueye the prisoners
taken the daye before in the skir-

The shirefes being at Maydstone.

mishe

withe with Ilseye. He left the chiefest and trustiest of his seruauntes and frendes, bothe gentlemen and yomen of al his bande at Malling for the sauegarde of the prisoners, where also laye the Lorde Aburgauenye and his bande, doubtinge that Ilseye and the rest that escaped wouide haue made some meane that night to haue recouered the prisoners, sundrye of them being men of good welth and well frended, and liynge within foure miles of Wyat. Upon these newes whether it were for the absence of the lord Aburgauenny and his strength, or mistrusting false measure in the towne, or moued with example of the reuolte of the whitcotes, he thought it shuld seeme

The sheriffes secrete returne to Mallinge.

seeme, Maydston no mete place for him to make any abode, nor yet good policie, al partes cõsidered, to disclose the time of his remouynge, but iudginge playnly him selfe thonly marke of these partes, whereat the traitours shotte, or falling any wayes into their handes, so newly after the case of the duke, one part of ꝑ tragedie to be thẽended: he returned to his strength, geuing knowledge to the gentlemen remayninge in Maydstone to repaire to his house for consultation, what was to be done for the redubbinge of that vnhappie chaunce. Inwhiche consultation there did rise so manye different opinions, some saying they would to the Queene, and some to the Earle of Penbroke

being her graces Leuefenaũt, that ỹ chirike without further debatinge, intreating the lorde Aburgaueny and certen gentilmen to remaine and entertaine ſuche of their bandes as they coulde holde till his retourne, whiche he promiſed ſhoulde bee without delay, went to the coũſell for knowledge of their pleaſure: where he taried vneth two houres but retourned in poſt ỹ ſame night. And at his cõming the lord Aburgaueny and he aſſembled as many of their force as they could call together.

The traitours and their frendes were growen as men reuiued from deathe to life, flatteringe them ſelues that a thynge ſo farre aboue mennes expectation coulde not haue happened to them

to them so fortunatlye, but by Gods miraculous prouision, as fauouring greatly their case: & so blewe it abrode as well by winde as by writinge, the more parte of the people being ready to beleue it, as the case in the heades of the multitudes was wonderfully chaunged bothe for strength and opinion.

Wyat aduertised by his letter the duke of Suffolke of his victorie by Gods prouision (as he termed it). Whose letter was intercepted in Esser, as the messenger passed the ferie, by a seruaunte of sir Robert Southwels, and brought to the counsell. He wrote also to the duke of Norffo. but in another stile, his letters being open & importing suche matter as foloweth.

Wyats aduertisement to the duke of Suff.

Wyats letter to the Duke of Norffolke.

Be it knowen to al men, and spe-
cially ye to the duke of Norffolke
that I haue taken nothing in hand,
but that I will maintaine with the
expense of my life: which before
it departe out of my body, shalbe
folde full dere. et ce.

An inuec-
tiue against
the neuters.

Such of those partes as honge
in the wind, as neuters, wher-
of were no small nomber that
had lurked in caues al the tem-
pest, watching but where shold
become the victorie: that for ex-
ample of the eutll were nothing
inferiour to the arrantest tray-
tours, but rather for a number
of respectes muche worse, be-
gan to appeere verie cherefull,
geuing them selues great than-
kes for handling the matter so
finely, that conueing the selues
out of the waie by their pollicie,

coulde

coulde auoide charge and peryll
so wittely. And as they met wt
suche as had serued faiethfully
(with whō they durst be frāke):
thei spared not to ope their mou
thes largely, powring out such
language as coulde be but la-
mentable, or rather odible to e-
uerie true eare, tunderstande
any subiecte so farre peruerted
from his allegiaūce and duetie,
that for gaine or securitie of
their owne persones, would re-
ioyce in sittinge still as indif-
rent, where the crowne is a par-
tie: or to persuade securitie to
them selues be they neuer in so
stronge a holde, where their so-
ueraigne is in perill. Which (all
thinges rightly weyed) semed a
straunge, persuasion taccompte
either gaine or sauinge in spa-

ring some parte of the accidentes by sitting still, to aduenture the losse of the principal, wherupon life & the wholle depẽdeth: or by affecting a litle corruption inordinatly, to lose both the honest fame and good opinion of his countree, whiche euerie honest man oughte to seke to preserue as tenderly as the wel doinge of him selfe and his wholle posteritie. Thus maye we euidentlye se the diuers effectes of diuers inclinations accordinge to trueth & vntrueth of perfite obedience preuatling in mennes heartes. These neuters or coũterfetes that woulde be neither open foes, nor aduẽturous frendes, but as wyly vultures houeringe in the winde to catch and gripe some parte of the pray, al-

thoughe they would no parte of the fray, perſuaded them ſelues to ſaue that whiche in their opinion the true heartie ſubiecte ſhould loſe by geuing ſuche aduenture: that was ſecuritie of bodie & goodes (whiche graunt they ſaued) yet in the iuſt iudgemente of the honeſt they deſerued therby the ſame blotte of infamie that is due to the open enemies. On thother ſide the true and faiethful, whoſe hartes and handes ſuch dimme colour of vnthankefull policie coulde not withholde frō the vtteraunce of nedefull ſeruice in ſuch generall caſe of daunger, thought it rather a gaine to aduenture bodye and goodes, wherby either to preſerue the heade and the wholle, which was cruelly pur-

sued, or at least by defense of the same to purchace vnto them & their names the honest opinion of vnspotted membres, and the imortalitie of good fame, wherwith trueth alwaies rewardeth vnfained seruice. For such an incomparable vertue is faithfull loyaltie, so muche abhorring all corruptible allurementes, that whose hartes shee hathe in gouernaunce, with suche neither sauour of gaine, nor hope of securitie, neyther persuasion of frendshippe, ne other intisement can so muche prevaile, as for any respect they wil digresse from the right course of true seruice. Where the contrarie wanting that perfection, to tast the gaine of fortunes corruptible membres, wherafter they gape to

to obtaine quiet to the reſtyue carcaſe and lucre to the ſelues, the thinge they onlye ſeke, are eaſly drawen to Runne a cleane contrarie race.

This naughtie brood therefore of counterfetes, of al other not tollerable in a common weale, are ſpecially to be loked to in their beginninge, leaſte their euill example by long ſufferaunce growe to ſuche a preſident at the laſt, that the common ſaynge, Good to ſlepe in a whole ſkinne, beinge eſpied to eſcape without daunger or reprehenſion, be taken vp for a pollicye, and thereby outeweye the iuſte peize of bounden duetye.

A conſultation of the rebels after the reuolte by the whytcotes.

After this moſte vnhappye chaunce, the traytours wyth

their newe adiunctes, fell to a great and solemne counsel that same nyghte at Rochester, for their procedinge in their pretensed treason. In discourse whereof proceded suche vnsittinge talke as well towardes the Queenes highnes, as her honorable counsell, tendyng to the alteratiō of the whol state, as abhorred the eares of some of the selfe traytours, that vnderstandynge by that talke the ende of their purpose, whereof before they were ignoraunte, wished them selues vnder the earthe, for beynge so vnhappy as to be so much as acquainted with so damnable an enterprise. Such an opiniō had thei, as they demed very fewe counsellers or officers of authoritie

or

of nobilty, within the realme worthie the place wherevnto they were called. And perfuadinge great choyse to be amongest them selues for the supplyinge of that want, suche ouerweninge had they of themselues, and made so sure a reckeninge of the victorye, as they disposed the honourable offices of the realme amõg the selues. Wyat thought him selfe now so sure of the victory, as seing him that offered to sell his spones and all the plate he had, rather then his purpose should quaile, and suppe his potage with hys mouth, warranted him that he shoulde eate hys potage wyth siluer as he did. England when good counsell shoulde stande it in moste auaylable stede, neded

no

no better counsellours then such as they were, yf they had halfe the witte they thought them selues to haue, coupled with grace and honestie. But what they had in dede, their actes declare playnly to their owne confusiō, as it hath alwaies, & euer hereafter shall to as many as be of like disposition. One of them that had some witte in dede, although he wanted grace, perceyuing by theyr talke in what fonde frensie they were entred, to interrupte them therein, he sayde, that suche matters were good to be treated of at further opportunitie. But for the present, it were mete to diuise vpon their nexte tourneye, and whether it shoulde be good policie in them mindyng to march

to,

towardes London, to leaue the Lorde Aburgauenye and the shireffe at libertie, thatannoyed their frendes. & by al likelyhode would not so ceasse, as they maye or dare at theyr blacke being left at large. One of them takinge vpon him firste to answere, thought nothinge more necessarie then their sequestration. And if his aduise myght haue ben heard in ỹ beginning, the shireffe should haue been in hold (as I haue heard) before any thing should haue been attempted. But the captaynes to the whitcotes mete cõsselours for suche an enterprise, hauyng the spoyle of London in theyr eyes, would not dispute that was paste: but for the present they persuaded cleane contrarye to

A deuise to apprehende the shyreffe.

the

the former opinion: saying that their going aboute thappre-henſion of the chiefte ſhoulde be but a loſſe of time. For London ſayde they, longed ſoore for theyr commyng, whyche they coulde by no meane pro-tracte without bredyng great perill and wearineſs to them ſelues. And hauing London at their commaundement, wherof they were in no maner of doubt, yf it were not loſte by their ſlouth, their reuenge to the lord Aburgauenny, the chiefte, with other their enemies wold eaſily folow. Wyat fauoring full well their diſpoſition, & vnderſtanding their meaning by their argu-mentes, and knowing alſo that without his aſſentyng thereto, he coulde not longe haue

The miſre-kening of ỹ rebels vpõ London.

their

to his companye, yelded to their counsell: And so beyng out of measure exalted into hault courage and pryde by the reuolt of the whyte coates, he marched the daye after beyng Tuesday in great pompe and glory, carryng with him vi. pieces of ordinaūce (whiche they had gotten of the quenes) besides their owne, to Cowling castle, a holde of the Lorde Cobhams, foure myles distant from Rochester, and not much out of their way towards London, where the lord Cobhā was. Wyat at his comming to Cowling castle, bent his ordinaunce against the gate, & with great and sundry shottes a fyre brake and burned dyre a waye throughe the gate. The Lorde Cobham defended his castle as stoutly

stoutly as any man might do, hauing so fewe against so great a number and so litle munition, him selfe discharging his gunne at suche as approched the gate right hardely. And in that assault two of his owne men were slaine. After this assault & talk with the lorde Cobham, Wyat marched to Graueseude where he reposed that night.

Wyates marching to Dartforde.

From Graueseude he & his bande marched the wednesday next after to Dartford, where he reposed that night: whether came sir Edwarde Hastinges maister of the Quenes horse, and sir Thomas Cornewalles knightes, both of her graces honorable priuie counsell, sent frō the qnene to Wyat, tunderstand the cause of his commotion, and

The comming of the maister of the horse & sir Thomas Cornewalles to Wyat.

also

(as it was sayde) finding
no repentant submissiō in him
to promise pardon, or at the lest
great hope therof. Wyat vnder-
stāding their cōming, & taking
with him certen of his bād, wēt
to the weast ende of the towne
where he had planted his ordi-
naūce, & at the lighting of mai-
ster Hastinges & sir Thomas
Cornewalles frō their horsse,
Wyat hauing a parte in hys
hād, aduanced him selfe sōwhat
afore suche gentlemen as were
with him, & vsing but litle reue
rence due frō a subiect to cōsele-
lours traced nere them, to whō
the maister of the horsse spake
in substaunce as foloweth. The
quenes maiestie requireth to vn-
derstand the very cause, wherfore
you haue thus gathered together

in armes her liege people, w hiche is the part of a traitour, and yet in your proclamations and perſuaſions you call your ſelfe a true ſubiecte, which can not ſtande together. I am no traitor quod Wyat, & the cauſe wherfore I haue gathered the people, is to defend the realme frō ouerūning by ſtraungers, whiche muſte folowe, this mariage takinge place. why q, the queenes agentes, there be no ſtrangers yet come whome eyther for power or nūbre ye nede to ſuſpect. But if this be your only quarrell, becauſe ye miſlike the mariage: wyl ye come to communication touching that caſe, and the quene of her gracious goodnes is content ye ſhalbe hearde. To whom Wyat shaped ſuch anſwer, as clerely mought declare

Wyates arrogant anſwere,

declare his malicious entent & traiterous heart to the quenes owne person and royall estate. I yelde therto quod Wyat, but for my suertie I wyl rather be trusted then trust. And therfore I demaunde the custodie of the tower, & her grace in the tower the displacing of certen coũsellers, and placing other in their rowmes as to me shall seeme best. Upon this leude answere, long & stout cõference was betwene them. In so muche that the maister of the horsse said vn to him with a stout corage. wyat before thou shalt haue that thy traiterous demaũde graũted, thou shalt die and xx. M. with thee.

Shortly after the maister of ỹ horsse, with maister Cornewalles finding him an arrant trai-

four, & desperatly set to al mis-
chiefe, retourned to the quenes
maiestie. The cõmõ people be-
ing with him & calling to their
remẽbrance how Wyat in ap-
parance made his whol matter
of fryz, for stragers, & no waies
against the quene, & perceiuing
how vnreuerently he vsed him
selfe alwel to ỹ quenes harrold
at Rochester, as to ỹ pryuie coũ-
sel at Dartford, & cõsidering w
thẽ selues also that he wold suf-
fer none of the quenes proclа-
matiõs to be read amõg them:
their heartes began to rise a-
gainst him. And among the sel-
ues sũdzie of thẽ much murmu-
red, wishinge with the losse of
al thei had, thei had neuer been
acquainted with Wyat nor his
pompes: and in dede sought as
many

many wayes as they could to be rid of him. Whiche perceiued by Wyat and his mates, they deuised a deuice to be sounded in his hande, that the lorde Abergauenny, & the shreffe did cause to be hanged as many as they could take comming frō Wyates hande. Wherewith the people beyng in a great maze what to do, were wonderfully perplexed. The queene vnderstanding by the maister of the horse, and sir Thomas Cornewalleis, the arrogancie of Wyat, and notwithstanding that she perceiued her mercifull inclination rather to prouoke him then otherwise, yet semed she nothing willinge euen then by violence and force (as she shortly vnderstode) to suppresse him. Whyle yet a lon-

A craftie policie.

yet time to suffer and abide, if by delay and mercy, her enemy mought be wonne to reconciliation. The nobilitie whiche were at that time with her grace, perceiuinge such surmounting mercie rather to increase then anye waies to abate courage & malice in the insolent and proude heart of the traytours, and further vnderstandinge that the traitours deemed the consultation of forbearing to procede rather of debilitie & feare rather of mercye, then of mercye, counselled with her grace, that with her gracious leaue and licence, they mought set vpon him, and his bãde, before he should passe Blacke heath: declaring that to suffre suche an arrogant traytour, beinge but a meane member

The suit of the nobles to the quene

her to approche thus contempt-
uously so nere her royall per-
son (as it were in defiaunce of
her grace, & her true subiectes)
shoulde greatlye redounde to
their dishonours in the opinion
of all faithfull men, throughe-
out the worlde. The quene gaue
them all moste heartie and lo-
uing thankes, sayinge that she
nothinge doubted of their true
heartes towarde her. Yet was
she lothe to make anye proofe or
triall therof, in suche quarell as
shoulde be with losse of bloude.
For to repulse them with vio-
lence, and subdue them by the
sworde, coulde not haue so hap-
pie successe, but manye of my
poore subiectes (quod she) should
derelye bye it, with the losse of
their liues. Wherfore she deter-

The Quenes answer to the nobles.

minded to suffer as longe as she
mought, and to forbeare that
princelie part (if there were no other
hope, ne remedie. For albeit, in
the capitall trespasours, there
coulde be but great default, yet
in the multitude, she was per-
suaded to be no malice, but on-
lye misled by their captaynes,
and rather seduced by igno-
raunce, then vpon any cuyl pur-
pose ment to her grace. Wher-
fore she desired them to be con-
tented: for she was fully deter-
mined to continue her mercifull
sufferaunce, and other her gen-
tle meanes soo longe as she
mought, and banquish her ene-
mies without the sword, if any
sparcle of obedience, or naturall
zeale remaine in their heartes.
Notwithstanding she required
them

them to prepare and retayne
their force in a readines, if their
owne heartes should driue her
to the extremitie.

But her highnes doubtynge
that London beinge her chamb-
ber, and a citie holden of dere
price in her princelye hearte,
might by Wyat and suche Rub-
bins as were with him, bee in
daunger of spoyle to the vtter
ruyne of the same; her highnes
therefore, as a moste tender
and louinge gouernesse, went
the same daye in her royall per-
son to the guilde halle, to foresee
those perylles; where amonge
other matters proceadinge from
her incomparable wisedome,
her grace declared how she had
sent that day, two of her priuie
counsell to the traitour Wyat,

The Quee-
nes speche
in the guild
halle in
London.

desireous

desireous rather to quiet this tumulte by mercie, then by iustice of the swoꝛd to vanquishe, whose moſt godly heart fraught with all mercie & clemencie, abhoꝛred frō al effusion of bloud. Her highnes also, there shewed the insolent and pꝛoud answere retourned from Wyat. Wherat the faithful citezens wer much offended, and in playne termes defied him as a moſt ranke traitour, with all his coniurates. And touching the mariage her highnes affirmed, that nothing was done therin, by her selfe alone, but with consent and aduisement of the whole counsell, vpon deliberate consultation, that this coniunction and seconde mariage shoulde greatly aduaunce this realme (where-

vnto

with the boas firste maried) to
myne honour, quiet, and gaine.
For (quod her grace) I am al-
ready maried to this common
weale, and y faythfull membres
of the same, the spousall ryng
wherewith I haue on my fynger,
which neuer hitherto was nor
shal hereafter be leaft of. Wher
fore vnto you nothinge to be
more acceptable to my hart, nei
ther more answerable to my wyl,
then your aduauncement in
wealth and welfare, with the
furtheraunce of Gods glorye.
And to declare her tender and
princely heart towardes them,
the promised constantlye not to
departe from them, although by
her counsell she had been mouyd
moued to the contrary, but
wonderfully made here a pres, to
ad-

aduenture the spense of her voyce all blonde in defense of them. Suche matter passed from her beside, as did so wonderfullye amasour the hearers of the hearers as it was a woold to heare with what shoutes they exalted the honour and magnanimitie of Queene Mary.

This done her grace retourned towardes white hall, and passinge thoroswe the streates beinge full of people, prayinge to beholde her grace, wherein they hadde singular delite and pleasure. One amongest all more impudent of all others stepped fourth sayinge: your grace maye doe well to take your forewarde in battayll of your Bysshoppes and Priestes, for they be trusty and will not

A malepart artificer.

deceyue

...ceyne you. For whiche wor-
...des he was cõmaunded to
...wgate, who deserued to be
...anged at the verie boughe for
...ample of all other, so impu-
...dentlye and arrogantlye to af-
...fulte hys Souraygne and
...Lorde, with suche seditious
...and trayterous language.

The voyce went he was an
hoste, out of al doubte he was
a traitour an heretike, whose
heart was wholye in Wyates
bosome, although hys bodye
was absẽt For it was not possi
ble any faithful subiect or true
christian to vtter suche shame-
lesse speche to his liege Ladye
and Princesse as he dyd then.
But suche is the fruite of here-
sie, contempt of God and man,
as by dayly experience is seene.

The

Wyates marchinge to Detford ſtrande.

The Thurſdaye nexte after Wyat hauing xiiij. enſignes in his bande, and not paſte foure thouſande men, although they were accompted of a far greater numbze, marched to Detfozde ſtrande, eight miles from Dartfozde, and within foure miles of London. Where vpon ſuche aduertiſement as he receyued by ſpiall of the queenes beinge in the Guilde hall, and the ozder of the people to her, he remained that night and the next whole daye: diuerſe of his owne companye doubtinge by his longer tarynge there then he did in other places, with other pzeſũptions, that he wolde haue paſſed the water in to Eſſex. His pziſoners as maiſter Chriſtopher Roper, Geozge Dozrell

Dozrel of Calehil, John Tucke Esquiers, who were kepte verye straitlye beinge sickelye, and hauinge within the towne no conuenient harbozowe oz attendaunce, were licensed by Woyat vpon pzomisse of theyz worshyppe to bee trewe pzisoners, to pzouide foz them selues out from the towne where they best might. But they thinking no part of their worshyppe stained in breakig pzomise with a traitour, soughte wayes to escape, & came no moze at him.

The departing of master Christopher Moyle and master Dozrel frō Woyat.

On the Saterdaye folowinge verye earlye, Woyat marched to Southwarke, wher appzochinge the gate at London bridge kote, called foz the openinge of the same: whiche he founde not so readie as he lo-

Wyates marchinge to Southwarke.

ked

ked for. After he had been a lit-
tle while in Southwarke, di-
uerse of the souldiers wente to
Winchester place, where one
of them beinge a gentleman,
beganne to shewe hys game
before all the cardes were full
dealed: I meane to riffle and
spoyle, whiche in dede was the
determinate ende of theyr pur-
pose, but the time was not yet
come, nor thei come to the place
where they shoulde beginne it.
Wherunto Wyat hauynge fur-
ther respecte then the younge
gentleman hadde, shewed hym
selfe with sterne and fiery vi-
sage so muche to bee offended
with his doinges, that he made
diuers beleue that he woulde
haue hanged him vppon the
wharffe.

Whiche

Whiche wherof it grewe, eyther of hatred to the euill, or of policie to purchase credite to a further mischeif, as wel the nature and course of rebellion, as also Wyates owne wordes may easly let vs vnderstand. Who the mondaye nexte afore his sturre deuising with two of his fredes for the execution of his pretended purpose, one of the at legth, said vnto him: I haue no doubt but you shalbe able to assemble a great force, but howe you shal be able to continue the same with you, hauing not sufficient treasure and monye, the onlye baite wherwith the multitude is holde, I stand much in doubt. Whate then quod Wyat? Marye saied the other, me thynketh a good waye for your prouision

therof, after youre force is once gathered, that ye apprehend the lorde Warden, the lorde Abergaueny, sir Robert Southwel, sir Thomas Moyle, with other of whose heartes and affection towarde you and your case you stande in doubt: wherby ye shal not onlye haue them in safetie, whiche are most like within the shire to withstande your enterprise, but also proude you bothe treasure and money (which they wante not) for the relief of your bande. Ah quod Wyat, is this the best counsell ye can geue? If we pretende to kepe out straūgers, & begyn our quarel with the spoile of our owne countrey mē, what will the whole realme trowe ye then deme of vs? Nay your aduice is nought, & youre

waye

waye the nexte waye to accelerate our confusion. For if we will go forwarde in our matter, and make the best of it to our purpose: spoile, and tirannye may not be our guides. We must by all meanes deuise, and al litle moughe, to cõtinue good opinion in the heades of the multitude of some plausible ende to succede by our sturre: otherwise we vndoe our selues. For perceiuinge at our entrie ỹ our myndes runne of spoile, who will not rather resist vs, & abide the aduẽture of that, wherof we beare them in hande, then to be in certeine to be spoyled by vs? And I see no cause whye you shoulde doubte of want of money, seinge ye knowe that suche gentlemen as are confedered

with vs keping appointment,
their souldiours shall come re-
die furnished to beare theire
owne charges for .ix. dayes, and
our happe shall be verie harde if
we be not at London shortlye
after we stirre, and that with so
great a company as shalbe oute
of daunger to be stopped by any
of the shire vpon suche a soden,
or letted of entrie into London
finding halfe the frindes there
as we thinke to haue. And be-
ing ones in London, & hauinge
the tower in our hãdes, I trust
you thinke we shall not lacke
money longe after, if any be to
be had there, or in the Alder-
mens coffers: To that saied the
other, that hadde spoken as yet
neuer a worde: I knowe com-
moners in London that haue
mor

wyates re kening of ỹ spoile of the tower and London.

moze redy money then some of the Aldermenne. Softe quod Wyat, I praye you in any wyse forbeare all suche talke till we come to ỹ place wher wè would be. In mean time let vs worke secretly, and by all tokens and signes, shewe our selues to fauoure and mainteine oure pre-tence of straungers only. Such and the lyke cõmunication was betwene Wyat and two other, the mondaye before his rysing. Wherby is euident, that theire finall entent was to aduaunce them selues by spoyle of other mennes goodes, although they pretended otherwise. And to coloure the same, Wyat so fell out with this gẽtelman for riffling the lorde Chauncelours house, that he made a number beleue

he woulde haue hanged him out of hande, had not Bret and other entreated for him.

When thei had lien in Southwarke a day or two, and foũde them selues deceiued in Londõ, whiche by the greate diligence and politike handlinge of that worthye and faiethfull knighte the lorde William Haward Admiral of England, that had the speciall charge therof with the aide of sir John Whight knight maiour of Londõ, his brethern and citezens was so well preserued, as the traitours therby were disappointed of that they loked moost certenly for. Wyat as a man desperate, and setting all at sixe and seuen, aduenturing the breaking downe of a wall out of an house ioyning to the

The Lorde Williã Haward admiral of Englande.

the gate at the bridge foote, wherby he moughte enter into the leades ouer the gate, came downe into the lodge aboute a leauen of the clocke in the night: where he founde the porter in a slomber, and his wife with other wakinge watchinge a cole. But seing Wyat, they began sodenly to start as greatly amased. Whist, quod Wyat, as you loue your lyues, sit you still, you shal haue no hurt. Gladde were they of that warrant, pardye. What should they do, people better accustomed with ỹ tankerd of beere, to passe furth the night then acquainted with target, and speare to indure to fight? Wyat & a fewe with him went furthe as farre as the drawe bridge: on the further side wher-

Wyates cõminge into the porters lodge at ỹ bridge fote.

Care away

of he sawe the lorde Admirall, the lorde Maiour, sir Andrewe Judde, and one or two other, in consultation for ordering of the bridge, whereunto he gaue diligent eare a good time and not seene. At length conceiued by their talke mooze then he could digest, & perceauunge the great ordinaunce there bent, returned saynge to his mates: this place is to hotte for vs. And when he was come to his colleges and declaringe vppon this exployte what he had hearde and seene, they then altogether fell to a newe counsell what was to be done. Some woulde then returne to Grenewiche, and so passe by water into Esser, wherby their company as they thought, shoulde encrease, and

The rebels at their wits tes ende.

enter

inter into London by Algate. And some woulde to Kingston vpon Teames, and so further West. And some, of the whiche Wyat him selfe was chiefe, wold retourne into Kent, to meete with the Lorde Aburgauenye, the Lorde Warden, the shyreffe, sir Thomas Moyle, sir Thomas Kepe, sir Thomas Finch, that weere at Rochester cõming on Wyates backe w a great cõpany wel appoynted: fully persuading him selfe ẏ he shuld find amonge them mo frendes then enemies. But whether his desyre to returne into Kent grew vpon hope he hadde to fynde ayd there, or whether it was to shifte him selfe awaye, it was much doubted of his owne companye. And some of them that

knewe him well, excepte they were muche deceyued, repoꝛted not longe befoꝛe their execution, that his deſier to retire into Kent was onelye to ſhyfte hym ſelfe ouer the ſea.

The Loꝛde Warden beynge nowe come to Rocheſter as ye hearde, and berye honourably furniſhed with hoꝛſe and men well appoynted to no ſmale nũbꝛe, enteringe in conſultation with ſuche gentlemen as were there, foꝛ the better pꝛocedynge in their ſeruice, ſhewed a great deſier to accelerate the onſet ypon the traitours: leaſt malice ſhuld impute both his foꝛmer & pꝛeſent ſtaye, rather to want of foꝛwardneſſe then to good policie. Wherefoꝛe he deſyꝛed to purſue after them with all expediti-

The Loꝛde Wardens beinge at Rocheſter towardes Wyat.

peditiō. Wherunto ȳ gentlemen then being in armes with him, sayde. As for your Lordshyps contation hetherto, it shalbe weyed, not as fooles by fansye & malice deme, but as wyse mē shall measure it by theyr discretion of wisdom. We see not but inaduised hardinesse & preproperous haste in moste matters haue these two cōpanions: Errour in the beginning, & Repentaūce in ȳ end. And for this our case, who so vnderstandeth the same, can not but confesse your lordships deliberate forbearing to haue proceded of great wysdome, as wherin hast coulde litel preuayle. And wheras your lordshippe is so desirous to pursue after Wyat and his bande,

you

you see howe they haue lyen in Southwarke and within foure miles of London these foure dayes, and yet not medled with by the queenes armie beyng so nere. Which is neither for want of men, nor of forwardnesse in that noble gentleman the earle of Penbroke the queenes leuetenant, but vpon greate policie & further respecte, no doubt then we seeme to conceyue. Wherfore your lordshippe may doe better to pause, and fyrst to aduertise the queenes maiestie and the lord leuetenaunt both what your lordeshyppe vpon graue and depe consideration hath conceyued in this doubtfull time, and also in what readinesse your lordshippe is and other gentlemen with you,

The earle of Penbroke the quenes leue tenaunt.

whose

whose pleasures knowen, we maye then happelye proceede in seruice bothe with good contentation to them aboue, and best suertie for our selues. Otherwise if fortune shoulde not fauour our iourneye, ther may be thought in vs more impotent wyll to haste, then prouident policie to spede. And daunger hereby can none folowe, our enemies lyynge betwene her graces armye and vs, consyderynge withall, that London is so wel furnished and so willing to resist their entrie. Whereupon the Lorde Warden went in poste to the Queene, leauynge the Lorde Aburgauenye and the rest of the gentlemen with his and their bande vntyll hys retourne, whiche was verye shortlye

thoꝛtlye after. Who accoꝛdynge to hys fiꝛste purpoſe with the reſt of the gentlemen marched furthe towardes Wyat. Which whoſe had ſeene ſo well appoyn-ted, and with what willynge heartes they went, and hadde knowen withall the faythfull dealinge of ſundꝛie gentlemen beſydes in other partes of the ſhire, ought to ſaye, that not wythſtandinge there were ma-nye euyll, yet were there many woꝛthie gentlemen and honeſt faythfull yeomen in Kent free frō Wyates conſpiracie: & that the ſame receyued ſome iniuries at his hande, that taking vpon him to ſet furthe anye Cron-cle, ſhoulde name onelye foure gentlemen of this ſhire to be woꝛkers againſt Wyat. Foꝛ al-

though

though euery man pursued him not in the beginninge, manye of them dwelling farre from him: yet were they aswell occupied where they were, and asmuche towardes Wiates confusion, by stayinge and withholding great force throughe their ernest persuasions and labour, that elles woulde haue been with Wyat.

Nowe to retourne to Wyat, whom in this meane tyme Bret & thother captaines espiyng to haue a desier to be gone, dissemblynge the knowledge thereof, wrought al the secrete meanes they coulde deuise, to staye hys going, as hauing the weight of their liues depending vpō this enterprise as well as he. One of them by agrement in their consultation sayde to him. You see

see (quod he) wt what difficultie
you kepe your soldiers here not
wtstandinge they be in a towne
where they are in a maner as
pent in, & thereby the more vn-
easie to get away, being so na-
rowly loked to. And now if you
shal leaue the town & retire in-
to Kent, as some of your cõpany
suspect you wyll, wherby bothe
thei and al other shal iudge you
to be in dispaire of the ayde of
London (the hope wherof hath
been hitherto ỹ greatest occasi-
on of stay of such as be alreadie
here, & the comfort for the com-
ming of other to the increase of
your power) you maye assure
your selfe, that suche as be here
will not tarye longe after with
you findinge time to escape, as
they shal easly ynough being at
large

large, nor such as be absent will
haue haste to repayre vnto you,
when they shal perceaue you to
be in dispaire of London: and so
shall you weaken your selfe to
the comforte of your enemies,
and discomfort of your frendes.
Bret vnder colour of singular
affection to Wyat deuysynge
an apte occasion to auoyde sus-
picion, whiche wanted not a-
mong them, required to speake
with him aparte, and hauynge
him alone, sayde: It shal not be
amisse that for your owne sure-
tie you haue in remembraunce
the effecte of the seuerall pro-
clamations made at Dartford,
the one by master William Roper
wherin you were betraytered.
the other by maister Appulton
whiche as I here, was also

Bretes wordes to Wyat.

made at London and in other partes of the realme, wherein is promised the inheritaunce of an hundred poundes lande to suche as can apprehende and present you to the queene.

Now what fantasies may growe in the heades of your owne fellowes for the sauegarde of theselues, of whom you haue had alreadie some experience, it is to be douted. Or what may growe in the heades of youre souldiours, when saylinge of the ayde of London they shalbe in dispayre of your enterprise, it is also to be doubted. On the other parte, when suche of Kent on whō it semeth you repose some truste, shall here of your retire, their disposition perhaps will be muche chaunged. And therefore

lore it standeth you in hande to
looke to the matter substantially.

Wyat hauing the same confi-
dence in Bret, that Bret would
Wyat to haue had in other, re-
membring his moste deceytfull
treason to the Quene, contrarie
to the trust reposed in him for
the conduct of the whitecotes,
And fealing his greife doubled,
and his desier to conuay himselfe
awaye, so muche the more in-
creased by Brettes secrete talke
with him (as the stricken deare)
wandreth aside, all alone com-
plaining with him selfe his moste
vnhappy fate. And soone after
calling Thomas Isley vnto
him, sayd: Ah cosyn Isley in
what extreme miserye are we?
The reuolte of these captaynes

Trustles traytours.

with ȳ whitcotes semed a bene
fite in ȳ beginning, & as a thing
set by God for our good, and to
cõfort vs forward in our enter-
pryse, whiche I nowe fele to our
confusion. Ah colyn, this it is to
enter suche a quarrel, which not-
withstanding we nowe se must
haue a ruthful end, yet of neces-
sitee we must prosecute ȳ same.
Wyat as desperate finding
other to accorde with Bretten
opinion vpõ his conference with
them, by whom for direction of
his treasterous iourney he was
cheifely aduised (althoughe for
his writing aboue ye there were
other whom he better trusted)
marched the sewesdaye beyng
wyates marchinge to Kingston. wherbouts wolday out of South-
werke to Kyngston vpon Tha-
mes, ten myles distaunt, where
they

...arryued about iiij. of ye clock
...the afternoone. And fyndyng
...foote or there aboute of the
...dge taken away fauyng the
...ties ye were left standing, pro-
...ffred vi two mariners to swym
...to conueye a barge vnto
...Which the mariners (temp-
...ed with great promises of pre-
...ment) did. Wherein Wyat ye
...ptaine with him were conuai-
...ouer: who in the tyme that
...the number of the souldiours
...ayed in the towne, caused the
...dge to be trimmed with lad-
...ers, plankes and beames, the
...same tyed together with ropes
...and bourdes, as by ten of the
...clocke in the night was in suche
...plighte, that both his ordinance
...and band of men mought passe
...ouer without perill. And so a-

wyates passage at Kingston.

bout vi. of the clocke in the same night. Wyat wt his bande wtout either resistẽce or peril marched ouer the bridge towardes London, hauyng such a louyng heart in his bodie to ỹ quenes grace before day he ment to haue been at ỹ court gate. Which he could neuer haue accepted hauing any spark of that good zele in his breast to the quenes liuerty as to further his treason. But outwardly pretended to the world, cõsidering the daũger ỹ mought haue growen by ỹ feare therof to her grace. But as god wold partly by meanes of hys souldiours, & partly by breache of the wyues that kepyd his ordinaunce it was nine of the clocke of the day following, beinge ỹ the wyfe he day before he came so far as

Hyde

side parte. Where his courage
(being to fore as ye haue heard
of very lusty) begã now vtter
to die, beholdynge as it were
before his face the present hane
confusion, whereunto his mali
cious entent was shaped. Yet de
speratiõ being his leade guyde,
he marcheth forward & cõmeth
within the power of sir Willia
Herberd earle of Penbroke be
ing that daye the queenes lieue
tenant generall in ye fielde. Who
yet with diuers other noble mẽ
and faithfull subiectes (beynge
then in armes with him) vse
and readie to receaue so impu
dent a race of traytourous re
bels to their deserued breakes
fast) vnderstandinge partlye by
spiall, partly by their owne
viewe, that the rebels erceped

not the numbre of foure thou-
sande, and most of them naked,
voyde of al policie and skyl, con-
siderng with al, that thei could
not set vpō Wyat & his whole
band but great effusiō of bloud
shoulde folowe, the queenes at-
tnie beinge so gredie to be reue-
ged, & the other so impotent to
resist, determined rather by pol-
icie to atcheue the victorie, then
by bloudie sheddyng to confounde
the rebels. Wherin they shoulde
please God, and soone reape the que-
nes moste ioyfull expectation, and
purchase vnto thē selues moste
honorable and honour of that
dayes seruice. Vpon these reso-
lutions they permitted Wyat
with the fore part of his bande
to passe quietlye alonge, and
throughe betweene the quee-
nes

the maiesties horsmen, the lord Clynton being marshall of the fielde and captayne of the barded horses and dimilaunces on the South side. Jacke of Wulgrade beinge captayne of the lighte horsemen on the Northe side: The great ordinaunce beinge charged to shute full vpon the breast of the rebels ramming eastwarde: The earle of Pembroke with the maine battell of footemen as well for handgunnes morrishe pikes, bowes and bylls, standyng in goodly aray on the Northeast syde, behind the sayd great ordinaunces, ready to set vpon the rebels in the face comming towardes Holborne: Wyat commynge in the forefront of his bande perceiuinge that he was thus beset with horsemen

on bothe sides, the great ordi-
naunces and the fortefyed before
his face Northeastward, so that
he could no wayes escape, but
necessarilye muste fall into their
handes, although for pollicie
he was fluttered, and a greate
part of his men to passe so farre
quietlye and with out resistaunce
through the Northmen, he sodeny-
lye forsooke hys waye intey-
ded throwe Holborne, & with
might & maine as faste as they
coulde, he and his mates ranne
downe vnderneth the parke wal
of bricke, adioyninge to the
Queenes manour house called
saincte James. The lorde Clin-
ton obseruinge his time, firste
with hys dimplaunces brake
their araye, & deuided Wyates
bande in .ii. partes. Then came

the

the light horsemen who so hardi-
ly persued the tayle of his bãde,
that they slewe many, hurte
more, and toke moost of them.
Whiles the sayd horsmen were
thus in fyght with the taile of
his bande, Wyat hym selfe and
.C. men or there aboute pekedi
on still all alonge vnder saynte
Iames parke wall, vntill he
came to Charinge crosse, where
diuers of the queenes houshold
seruauntes, and others fought
with them, and in the ende kil-
led xvi. of the rebelles. Neuer-
theles Wyat hauinge escaped
with a parte of his company mer-
chinge a longe in bataile raye
entred into Fleestrete, and came
with fierce bigge toward Lud-
gate. And although he nowe re-
ceiued his passage throughe the

stretes

ſtreetes thus fayre, yet when at
length he perceiued that he had
no helpe of frendes in London,
and the ſuburbes as he loked
for, lefte his men ſtandinge ſtill
in battail araye, and rode backe
as fayre as the tẽple barre gate,
with a naked ſworde in his hãde
the hiltes vpwarde (as ſome re-
porte) at which gate he woulde
haue gone throughe towardes
Charinge croſſe to the reſidue
of his men, but he was then ſtop-
ped by force of the queenes true
ſubiectes, who woulde not ſuffer
him to paſſe withoutẽple bar.
At the length came one Sir Ma-
thew Dardley knighte vnto him,
& requyred him to conſider that
he coulde not preuaile in thys
lewdeſt pourpoſe, and that hys
men were all taken and ſlayne

in

in the fylde, and therfore willed
him to reste of frō any further
assaylon of bloudeshed, erhor-
tyng hym to yelde him selfe pri-
soner, & to stande to the queenes
mercie. Whiche to doe Wyat re-
fused, and saied that he wouide
rather be slain then yelde to any
man. And yet neuertheleſſe (as
is rehearsed) there came a Har-
rold of armes immediatlye ry-
ding in the queenes coote Armor
to this place: to whose cote shor-
lye after Wyat submitted hym-
selfe prisoner, & so went to the
court at West minster, and ther
was brought before the pryuye
Counsell, a shortlye after with
in one houre sent from thense to
the Tower of Londō prisoner.
Amongest other thinges this
is to be remēbred, that whiles
the

the saied Wyat, and certein of his men (as afore saied) were comminge thus towardes Fleetestreete, a certein Captayne of the said rebelles with diuers of his souldiers retourned from Charinge crosse, downe to the court gate at white halle, and gaue a larme before the gate, and shotte diuers arrowes into the saied courte the gate being open, in so muche that one maister Nicolas Rockewood being a gentilman of Lyncolnes inne, and in armour at the said court gate, was shotte throughe his nose with an arrowe by the rebelles. For the comminge of the said rebelles was not loked for that way: but thought that the Queenes Armye shoulde haue toyned battell with them in the

felde

according to promise made
by the Lord Cobham on this behalf,
promised that he would
come to the queenes fore battel, &
fight both the pyke against pyke
and man to man. Which when it
came to the verie point the refu-
sed & shranke a bye way by faint
harts part de walle for his re-
treate, as you haue heard before:
whose mercy of them were slain
but fewe in so that they came
not into the queenes power of the
fore battel. Which increased some
desperate boldnes in the despe-
rate rebelles, not without great
discomforte to all the court, & the
citie of London, perceiuing that
he was himselfe and so many re-
beles with him come through the
queenes armye thus farre: wher-
upon grewe great admiration a-
mongst

[illegible] will not detaine me. And
[illegible] dede (hastily after) newes
[illegible] all was victorie, howe that
[illegible] was taken.

Those dayes the Iudges in the
[illegible] place at Westminster
[illegible] in armour. The Maiour,
Aldermen, and the houshalders
of the Citie, by viij. of the clocke
in the morning, were in armour
the lorde Wyllyam Hawarde,
the Admerall being emonges
them (as I haue before saide)
sent by the Queenes maiestie
appointed Captaine generall &
Lieutenaunt for the time, to con-
sulte in counsell, and ioyne in
execution with the lorde Maio-
our, & his brethren for the sure
and spedie gardinge and watch-
ing of the Citie, to the preser-
vacion whereof the Queenes

gyuen hade spyrituall regarde: The
gates were diligentlye wat-
ched euerye gate with. C. men.
Wyzegate being closed vp & ram-
pired. Thus was thys wyc-
ked heresie, & all open treaytous
Wyatte, his complyces brought
to theyr confusion: and to this
ende he with his newes muffled all
suche malicious dispoſed myn-
chens, agaynſt the true and
pure ſeruice of God, that was ad-
ymed in the ſtoute, & worthie Erle
of Pembroke: but chiefly by the
mightie hand of God, at the com-
playnte of other diuers merches, &
bertuous, whyle he remayned in the
cloſet of Medſall hope, & confi-
dence beyng aſſiſted with the
armour of faith, fought with
ardent and continuall prayer,
vnpeyſeable deuotion, vnder the
banner

K.ii. of

The duke of Suffolkes apprehension by the Erle of Huntingdon.

Huntingdon doon by hym appy
hended in Lyncolneshire: wher
he declared hym selfe as wel
in honour and vnspotted loyal
tie as in paternage, & patrimo
nie to succede his great grand
father & lord Wyllynges: wyth
stoode and frendly truely p
wardes kynge Edwarde the
fourthe, and his children, th
Cruelties repeate, to his un
nowtall honsuite.

Of the comyn people there
were suche a nombre taken in
the chase by the Erle of Pem
broke, that besides the vsuall
gayles somdele churches in Lon
don were made places for their
saufgarde, tyl ozder was take
for their inlargement.

The duke was arrayned by
his peres, and by verdit found
guilty

[illegible] of treason before the duke [illegible]
[illegible] being [illegible] the Tuesday
[illegible] and that daye his Iudge-
[illegible] and his brother Tho-
[illegible] at seuerall dayes were
[illegible] at Tower hill by
[illegible] of their heades, Sundrie
[illegible] of whom complices be-
[illegible] arraigned and condemned
[illegible] their confession of treas-
[illegible] declared in diuers partes of
[illegible] Thomas Wyat hys
[illegible] and Walter Mantel of
[illegible] whose Ghost (as
[illegible] another of the Traitors
[illegible] the common scaffolde
[illegible] were executed, saue onely

Wyat arraigned.

Wyates wordes at his arraignment.

nowe

Of such as did pennice by wearing of halters before the queene.

power, ne by anye other pollicie preuayle. Some of the gentlemen that were offenders were pardoned goinge to their execution by the quenes clemencie at Rochester, as were also all the other of the whole Kentishe gentlemen remitted, a fewe of the rankest excepted, that onely for example suffered.

The quenes hyghnes not longe after sent out her commission to sir Thomas Moyle, sir John Guilforde, sir Thomas Kempe, Warham Sentleger, Thomas Kendon, Christopher Roper, George Dorrel of Calehil, George Fane, John Tucke, John Robartes, Thomas Louelace, John Leonarde, Esquiers, with others, not onelye to baile and sette at

large

[illegible] suche as were ſent priſon[illegible]
[illegible] countrey for that offence,
[illegible] of no finale moment, but
[illegible] commended by their diſ-
[illegible] both the offenders ac-
[illegible]ordinge to the qualitie of their
[illegible]. Which maner of order
[illegible] not hard of in ye like caſe,
[illegible] at the leaſt verye rarelye, de-
[illegible]ted a ſingular clemencie and
[illegible]gnitie in the queene, that
[illegible] followed ſo cruelly, wolde
[illegible] be ſo moued with pitie as
[illegible] vouchſafe to anſwere them
[illegible] ſuche lenitie, in the execu-
[illegible] of ſo fewe in compariſon
[illegible] ſo greate a multitude & ſo large a
[illegible], beinge all in her graces
[illegible] to diſpoſe at her pleaſure,
[illegible] deſire ſuffre the reſt to eſcape
[illegible] to finale abaſhement of
[illegible] countenaunce after ſo hai-

nous

wonde offended. Wherefore I shall pray
you to vse this storye diligentlye, and
consider all partes therof exactly
with remembraunce of thinges
past, for thence the beginning
of the quenes moste happye
raygne, must of force recognise
of what condicion so euer he be,
the magnificence, mercie, and
fortitude of this moste noble
prince, as from time to time
with such patience to endure so
great malice of her owne sub-
iectes, with such lenitie to for-
beare the reuenge of so intolle-
rable outrage, with such mer-
cie in the ende to pardon and re-
mit so haynous and great offen
dours. Happie was it to those
haynous offendours, that her
graces moste worthie and ho-
nourable counsell dyd so agree
able

able to her vertuous inclinacion
dny as inclined rather to pur-
merciful pardon for continu-
aunce of life, then to prosecute
reuenge by execution of death.
It is to be wished by all good
men with one assent, that pro-
voked with so great clemencie
these degenerates reforme the
selues, and forbeare thus to at-
tempt so gracious a princesse,
vnto whom by gods authoritie
the swoorde is not vaynly com-
mitted, leste thereby they pro-
cure to the selues damnation in
sekinge by suche outtage theyr
owne deathe and confusion.
From the desier wherof we see
by a numbre of euident argu-
mentes, the queenes highnes
and her honourable counsell to
be so farre as (by all meanes
they

they can imagine) they seeke to
effectue that they by moste
wylfull and malicious
meanes folowe to
their subuer-
sion.

¶ An earnest conference with the degenerates and seditious, for the search of the cause of theyr greate disorder.

Ere I purpose to shut vp this tragicall treatise touchinge the displayinge of Wyat and hys aduenture, and yet not to ende my trauel concerninge the same, but shall gladlye debate and conferre with thee lounge countreeman, suche speciall and necessarie matter, as further riseth therof, tending as well to our mutual comfort presently, as also to a generall doctrine to indure to oure posteritie, not without presente terror to the wicked race: whose hertes broile

vndesire to rebel. All which poyn-
tes this present storie doeth ple-
teously perswme to him that
listeth to learne. Wherby firstly
good and godly may be comfor-
ted, as by this experimente, to
consider howe God alwayes de-
fendethe his chosen and electe
vessell, our moost gracious and
mercifull princesse, against the
malitious and cruell assaultes
of her ennemies, be they neuer
so craftie, neuer so stronge.
And secondlye a generall doc-
trine therewith taughte, or ra-
ther by newe experience renued,
so many times taughte before,
that the inevitable end of rebel-
lion is certein confusion to the
rebel. Of these two ỹ thirde ne-
cessarely springeth, as a terrible
prohibition in the heartes of the
wicked

ssed neuer after to attempte
the lyke villanie against Gods
anoynted, wherof they can at
no tyme skamble other part the
shall confusion, linked to per-
petuall infamie. And to make
perfite impression herof in your
hearts you degenerates, that
cannot satisfie your selfes with
so vertuous a princesse, but thus
from time to time, molesse her
highnes wth seditious rumours,
uprores, and rebellion, I here
appeale to you chiefly, & require
you to enter into the secrete clo-
set of your owne heart, and to
ponder with me in egall bal-
launce of due consideration the
incompatable vertue, mercie,
and benignitie of this most woz
thy princesse our queene, with
your owne mischiefe, cruelties,
and

and intollerable malice. And then let truth giue sentence, whether this disorder groweth of a lack in ỹ head, or of a malicious corruptiõ i the mẽbres. Can ye imagine any thinge to be requered of God, to be in a princelye Magistrate, either for the aduancement of his publike weale, wherof he is accompted the lyuing soule, or for the contentation or commoditie of the politike body his people, wherof he is reputed the principal heade, whiche is not plenteously found in this our moost gracious maistres? Can you wish her to haue any thinge touchinge vertue, or vertuous ornament worthy her royall person, whiche she aredy harbe not? Whose honorable fame for the singular vertues,

and

nd rare qualities, naturallye
rafte in her moſt royall perſon
ben from the cradell, as well
the ample theater of the whole
olde hathe in admiration, as
alo malice, and enuye it ſelfe in
uch veneration, as neuer durſt
aſte any ſpotte, or rõtrarie re-
ort of her vertuous life to thys
ay. Is ther any thing on the o-
ther ſide, y we can wiſhe to haue
for your owne cõmoditie that by
her you inioy not? Hath ther ben
at any tyme, any prince in the
obet of his publike regimente
more carefull for the aduaunce-
ment of his ſubiectes to welth,
or for the preſeruation of them
in tranquillitie and ſuretie, then
her grace is? Can you doubte of
this, that haue had experience
erfal ther of, ſo many waies?

Haue you not seene euen in the
verie beginning of her most hap-
pie raigne, all suche bloudie and
iniqueous lawes, by her royall
assent repealed, and the rigoure
of those taken awaye, as hau-
oc hereafter might decaye, and
weaken the noble and faithfull
membres of her realme? Could
you require greater proufe of
incomparable clemencie, fauo-
& loue towardes her people in
generall, then this? Haue you not
seene her free repaire of many no-
ble houses by her graces liberal
restitution, or rather giftes of
stately Castelles, Honours, Ma-
nours, and Lordshippes, which
by her lawes without offens
of iustice her highnes mought
haue retained, & same being in
ueste in her graces noble per-

gentours,

...fours, by the due order of
...lawes? Can you requite any
...ster token of pyncelepitie
...en this? Haue you not seene her
...ties not onely forbeare all
...mandes of Subsidies &
...es, but also freely dispence
...y great paymentes of money
...e to her by former graunte of
...r predecessours, notwithstan
...ing the large and diuers occa
...ons her highnes hadde to re
...ue aide, as well for the gre
...debt she founde this realme in
...for large expenses she ha the
...steined in resisting the rebel
...s of her owne people? Could
...haue a greater euidence
...e towardes her subiectes the
...? Haue you not seene daily
...y see diuers executed by parcels
...ecially conuicted, and suffe-
red

red to line in their accustomed
wealth and pleasures that de-
serued once twise to dye, as o-
pen enimies and traytours?
Could ye desire greater mercie
& lenitie in her grace then this?
Haue ye forgot how her grace
at the beginning of her happie
raigne did and still daylye doth
call vppon all and singuiar her
magistrates hauinge any iudi-
cial authoritie, to se the lawes
so equally distributed thorough-
out her realme & dominions, wi-
out respecte to the persons, that
none might haue iuste cause
to complaine of wrongful depra-
tion or oppression? Could ye de-
sire playner demonstration of
her highnes equite & iustice then
this? What haue you then to al-
lege for your reproue & practise

such

such malice and spite against so gracious, so mercifull, so liberall, so iuste, and so stoutge a princesse? What shoulde moue you thus vnkindlye & vnnaturally to raise rebellion against her grace, to the molestation of her royall persone, and perturbation of the whole realme, and finallye to your owne confusion? What fault finde you in her, whome the whole worlde iudgeth to be moste perfite and sounde? Can you not loue her, whome the whole worlde hathe in admiration for her vertues? Can you not forbeare forsythe and treasteronslye to molest her whome euery good and godlye man findeth him selfe bounden in conscience with expense of bodie and goodes to defende?

What esteeme you her grace to be? Is she not youre lawefull queene, whome Gods expresse commaundement bindeth you to honour and obey for conscience sake? Hath she not in her handes full authoritie to commaunde, and power to compell? What esteeme you youre selues to be? Are ye not subiectes by the like commaundement of God bounde to serue, loue, and obeye?

Finally, is not her grace such a one in whome God by sundrie tokens and dayly experimentes declareth him selfe to delite and to be well pleased, thus to[illegible] muste ye prophesie and deuine thinge hys wyll, the ouerthrowe and shame of her enemies? Alas counsell me men, what wicked spirite possesseth youre entrayles,

les,

les, that can not be satisfied
with suche a gouernesse, wor-
thie all duetie and reuerence.
What euill ghost hath plunged
your hearts in suche straunge
malice, that notwithstandinge
so manye and great benefites
employed by her, and receaued
by you, you can fynde in youre
hearte to assaulte her with re-
bellion, or in any wise suffer any
one euyll motion to enter into
your thoughtes against her. If
you can not denye but she dayly
and hourely careth for you and
yours, as a moste carefull gou-
ernesse, why then shoulde you not
answere her princely zeale with
loue and duetie, as it becom-
meth trewe subiectes? God say-
eth, you shall not resist youre
prince, if you doe, you resist me
(sayeth

(sayeth he) with present peryll to your soules. Man saieth, you can not rebell against your soueraygne, but my lawes muste condemne you for traytours. Experience proueth vtter confusion & perpetual infamie to be the fatall & vneuitable end of rebellio. What aduantage thē are you in hope at anye waye to finde by rebellion, when thereby you haue heaped the coles of vengeaūce vpō your heades at Gods hand, you haue receaued mans iudgement to your perpetuall shame and reproche, and in the ende you are assured by infallible experience, confusion to bee youre guerdon? Maye not you of all other thinke youre selues most infortunate to enuie this noble Queene for her vertue,

whose

whole fame reacheth so farre?
Or are you so fonde to thynke
that you can obscure the same
by rebellion, whiche is illustra-
ted and set furth by your mali-
cious attemptes, no otherwise
then golde is tried by fier?
No, the whole worlde muste of
necessitie wonder at you for
your intollerable euill and rest-
les malice, and extoll her grace,
for her incomparable patience
& endles mercie. What, can you
not like her noble mariage? Is
the mislyking thereof, the cause
of this youre degenerate mis-
order? Mighty God, do you cha-
lenge such singular knowledge
in Gods worde, suche speciall
influence of the holy spirite, de-
myng all other in respecte of
you & youre colleges, to be bin
ded,

ded, voide of al trueth: and thus directly agaynst knowledge, against gods expresse trueth, against ꝯ suggestion of the good spyrite rebelliously styrre against your natural pyncesse, fayning ꝯ your quarrel which you your selues knowe to be against God & nature, as to bridell your soueraigne in the crācke choise of mariage, ꝯ fredom wherof was neuer denied to ꝯ meanest subiect in the worlde. Alas countrey mē, hathe blinde malice so bleared the eyes of your commō sensēs, that you see not howe manifestlye you bewraye aswel the brutishnes of your heartes, as also the hoped fruite of your religiō? In hope of your reconciliation, I could finde in my heaste to debate further with you of this

weyghty

weyghtie matter. But as you
re muchly condemned of arrogan
tie in fayninge a quarrell in the
perſon of the realme, for that
which the wiſdome of the ſame
by common conſent, for the ma-
nifolde commodities growen
therby hath allowed for a bene
fite, ſo ſhoulde not I auoide the
note of muche folie, if I would
take in hande to defende by ar-
gumentes (as a doubtfull mat-
ter) that ſo manye wiſe men
haue allowed. If then your ſo-
ueraygne ought without your
interruption to enioye that you
can not endure to be denied to
youre ſelues (I meane the free
choiſe of mariage,) if alſo the
ſame be confirmed by them, vn-
to whome for their authoritie
you are bounde to geue place:

It

It followeth that as this ought not to be the cause of youre vnnaturall outrage, euen so it can not be otherwise, but that (accordinge to the vniuersall sentence and opinion of other christian realmes cõceaued of you) the inordinate desire to reteine false religion, so farre abuseth you, that you forget duetie to God, your prince, and your cõtrie. O blinde and malicious ignoraunce, do you not see how by youre vnlawfull practise it plainlye appeareth bothe what you be, and from whome this goodly Jewell (for the whiche you do so striue) commeth? Can you be thought any other then ingrate, arrogant, degenerat, & deuilish, hauing a disposition to rebell? Wherein you followe the

Deuil

Deuil authour of malice, strife,
and deuision, and forsake God
who is delited in peace, sufte-
raunce, and obedience? Can your
irreligion be thought other then
a mere illusion proceding from
the Deuil, whiche the authours
and followers haue euer hitherto
sought to suppoꝛt with false-
hode, seditious rumours, rebel-
lion, and tiranny? Wy etherit
is that any man wylbe so wyl-
fully blinde, oꝛ so sofrithe as to
beleue that to be of God, which
neuer by integrite of life entred:
neither by patience, and tollera-
tion was perſuaded: ne yet by
miracle confirmed? Did Chriſte
him ſelfe at anye tyme rebell to
ſtablithe his religion? yea did he
not patiently ſuffer moſte pite-
full death rather then he would

resist? And yet you must graunt
me, that beinge God & man, he
lacked not power to haue ouer-
thrown whom he liked. But it
was contrarie to the nature &
vertue of his true religiō, which
by much pacience, & not with vi-
olence, by tollcratiō, & not rebel
lion was first persuaded & estas-
blished. Did any of the apostels
the folowers of Christe and his
true religion, notwithstanding
manye times, & in many places
they were refused with theire
doctrine, persecuted, and cruelly
pursued, did they at anye tyme
rebell? What then shall I esteme
you that be open rebels, or what
genre shal I mesure your religi
on to be, whiche alwayes is not
otherwise supported then by re-
bellion, treason, and tyrannye?

Will

will you here of me what your
selues are ashamed to discouer?
Came not this your religion by
a fleshly and carnal meane into
this realme? Were not the fruites
that came in there with many
fest contempte of magistrates,
licentious and dissolute liuing,
oppression or rather open robery
of the poore, dissolution & breach
of godly order, lawes, and cere-
monies, wherewith the people were
kepte in due feare, and loue tow-
wardes God and man? Further
was it not here settelled and
maintained by manifest tirann-
ye in the innocent bloude of man-
my wise learned Martyrs, and
hope in the ende, by God defen-
ded with open rebellion against
your natural & lawefull quene?
Merciful God how can with it

to passe, that anye man hauinge
the vse of his commen senses
shoulde not perceiue what thys
illusion is, and whence it came?
Nowe as you haue hadde your
eares open to here me in this
discourse, open also your mou-
thes and saye to me, whether
this religion thus grounded vp-
pon suche foundation as you
knowe, expressed in fleshely ly-
uing, continued with suche blou
dye practise, defiled with suche
malicious and vngodly rebelli-
on is to be indured in any Chri-
stian region, or in anye wyse to
be thought to procede from god.
Giue sentence your selfe of what
degree so euer you be, I seke not
other iudge.

O Englande Englande, if
thou haddest wordes to speake,
as thou

as thou haſt greiſe to cõplayne. If thou couldeſt as well ſtrike our eares with thy lamentable voice, as thou doeſt perce oure heartes with thy great and incomparable ſorowes, wouldeſt thou not, if ſobbinge teares letted not thie vtteraunce, ſpeake in this ſorte and theſe worde:

A Prosopey of Englande vnto the degenerat Englishe.

O you ſeditious and degenerat, know you what you doe, when you thus moleſte and vexe her to whome I wholy am owne and due: and you of duetie bounden to obeye and ſerue? Can ye eyther purge your ſelfes before God, who plagueth ſuche diſobedience with

eternall damnation, or excuse
you before mā whose lawes ad-
iudge rebellio to shamful death?
Are ye so disperate that you
feare not to offend thē for their
power, whose sharpe punish-
mentes ye can not auoyde? Be
you so farre from al humanitie,
that you can not honour, loue &
obey her, for her knowē vertues
the brandishing beames wher-
of, mighte melte the rage of the
forren ennemies? Be you so vn-
wise to thinke that your malice
towardes her toucheth onelye
her person, and not me, onelye
molesteth her & not me? O you
wicked children, if I may nowe
call you children: Is this the
fruit of the new professiō? Doth
the suggestion and influence of
this your newly imbraced lear-
ning

ning worke suche vngodly mo-
tions in your brestes thus sedi-
tiously, and rebelliously to dis-
turbe her, whom duetie bindeth
eche godlie subiect to obey: thus
vnnaturally to vexe, & hasarde
me, whome nature stirreth eche
natural borne child to preserue?
Be you content to haue the frui
tion of my commodites, to repe
the fruites of my pleasures, and
thus to vexe me, thus to molest
me, thus to indaunger my con-
dition in her, whose careful stu-
die is onely to reforme both you
and me, to bringe vs bothe to
that auncient and blissfull state
whiche thorough you, and the
lyke was lost & brought to ex-
tremitie? Suppose you to haue
your comodities by me, when I

by you am made bonde, and ser-
uile: Thinke you to escape mise-
rable seruitude, when I by youre
disorder & seditiō am made thral
to youre enemies? Be you so mad
to iudge youre selfes to be in su-
ertie when youre seditious riot
hathe wrought my confusion?
Am I not the common parente
out of whose bowelles you wer
borne: In whose lappe you were
receiued: with whose sustenaūce
you were nourished: In whose
armes you were fostred: Haue
you any contmuaunce of welth
quiet, honoure, or dignitie,
that by me was not receiued,
through me is not maynteined,
and in me finallye continued?
Was not I carefull for you or
you were borne, to prouide cla-
thes to couer your naked mem-
bres

lyes: to produce sustenaũce and foode to drawe furth life begon in you: To preserue frendes vn to you: and reserue habilitie to them that might attende, com-panye, and comforte you: What haue you but by me: And what are you in hope to haue without me: And wyll you thus requite my tender loue and kindnesse, with suche hatefull rebellion: What so euer I haue done for you, I haue done the same for your progenitours, frendes and kinsmen. And can neither theyr cause styre you, nor your owne case moue you to be good to me, by whome you all stande: You haue been the occasion, at the least, the mischiefe, whiche you with mischiefe striue nowe to defende, that these manye yeres

I haue lost manye and diuerse
of my liuelye and founde mem-
bres, being cruelly cut from my
politike bodie, and haue also su-
steyned the great contempt and
breache of godlye and wise or-
ders deuised for preseruation of
mine estate, and conseruation of
my membres in their dewe and
ordinarie course. Whereby how
odible I haue sithence been to
my selfe, and hateful to all chri-
stian realmes, as well the gene-
ral voice of all forren countries
daylye strikinge your deafe ea-
res doeth witnesse, as also the
playne speache vttred not longe
ago by a moste faithfull & true
membre of my sister Scotland
the earle of Huntley confirmed.
Who beinge here, and hearynge
some here either for bragge or
prayse,

The earle of Huntley

ryayle, tellinge howe manye Scottes in Scotland Englich louldiours hadde slaine: What great maistrie haue you done, quod then that good Scottiche earle, when with armie royal ye come into Scotland, & ther kyl a fewe Scottes, and one abiect Scotte without armes or polline commeth home to youre owne houses and distroyeth ten thousande Englische people in a daye both bodie and soule with heresie: The same beinge afterwarde moued to become Englich, and to be swoorne to me and my lawes: No, quod he, I am a trew christian Scotte borne, and so I wyll remayne. For as I am I knowe no enemie but the Englische man, but beynge once swoorne Englische, where

ſhoulde I aſſure me of one ſure frende, that haue nowe but one knowen enemye: for be you out of doubt, although ye Engliſhe men haue not warre with all foꝛren pꝛinces chꝛiſtian, yet aſſure your ſelues to be in perfite peace with none: but when time ſhall ſerue, to haue the whole woꝛlde in armes againſt you, if ye pꝛocede as yet ye doe, rather like to be come Turkes then to continue Chꝛiſtians, whoſe religion ye dayly refuſe, and ſette furth hereſye. In the meane time, the whole woꝛlde wondereth at your blindneſſe, that you ſee not your own madnes and impietie. I ſpeake thus in this ſoꝛte not as a Scotte to an Engliſhe man, but foꝛgetting al pꝛiuate quarrels as one chꝛiſti-

chyldrian to another, lamenting in my heart to behold the wzet-hed condition and pzesent face of this your realme, whereof I heard muche oz I came here, and here I finde trewe muche moze then I heard.

O frendlye, wise and moste trewe saying, ful of counsel and witte, yet spoken to suche in whose stonie heartes it coulde make no impzession, whereby hath followed not onelye subuersion and shameful confusion to diuerse of them to whome it was spoken, but also my daunger euer sithece moze and moze encreased.

And nowe that it hath pleased the highe God of his vnspeakable mercie tappointe so vertuous a gouernesse ouer me, at

et the founde of whose heauen-
lye and manifolde vertues, as
he hathe hitherto compounded
my quarrels abrode, and as if
were holden fortein handes
backe, beinge willinge to pur-
sue me, and to make example of
me by shameful ende, as I was
example to the whole worlde of
all disorder, impietie, and here-
sie: so now by her ministery and
authoritie, he meaneth mercy-
fully to cure and heale my man-
gled bodye, to repayre myne a-
based state, to restore my good
and wholsome lawes, to re-
forme my disordered membres.
Whiche her noble grace accor-
dinglye pursuinge with all her
might and authoritie, findinge
also like disposition in my prin-
cipall membres her highnesse
honoura-

honourable and noble subiec-
es, nowe you, onelye you, I
saye, sporne agaynste Goddes
mercifull worke, and as moste
enemyes to my prosperous
estate, cease not to hinder, what
God hathe ment to me, & what
his chosen instrument, this most
vertuous lady doeth attempte
to compasse for me: deuisinge
daye by day seditious, false and
traiterours bruites, rumours, &
tales to molest and trouble her,
to confounde and destroye me.
And rather then ye wyll be re-
duced from errour to trueth,
and reformed from disorder
to better gouernaunce, by the
calling and persuasion of Gods
true instrument and chosen mi-
nistresse, ye wyll beleue what
that most vile and deuelishe ra-

bble

ble of Antichristes ministers by
their pestilent bokes teache you
in corners, as that by gods law
ye maye rebell againste youre
head. O cursed and hellishe ge-
neration! I beseeche you consi-
der bothe me and youre selues.
Ye haue been the cause of my
great griefes, and yet you en-
sue me the remedie. Ye knowe
if I perishe you can not florish,
yet disdaine you to be refour-
med, that I maye bee confir-
med in myne auncient and bles-
full state. You refuse to be sub-
iect to good gouernaunce, that
my benefites might be perfour-
med in you, to youre great fur-
therance: and contraye to
youre allegeaunce, contraye to
nature, wil thus here and trou-
ble me. Yea, by youre dede, al-

though

thoughe not by your will perhaps
deliuer me into the hãdes of the
that be my foes, but in dede
moste enemies to your selues.
I saye no more but referre you
to consider what I haue sayed,
and to way with your selfes in
what case I stande, and wher-
unto I was brought by this
illusion, whiche hathe so defor-
med me, and bewitched you.
And further by my sister Bo-
heme, consider what I maye
come to, and am like to be if you
cease not this your willfull and
desperat outrage. Finallye doe
not forget the straung diseases,
sundrie plagues, great dearthe,
whiche I haue longe suffered,
as clere tokens of Goddes ven-
geaunce to be bente ouer you
and me, and the blessing of hys

vnreasonfull handes to bee taken
from vs. Who nowe ponder with
your eares my wordes, that I
haue spoken, that my forwe
may reache your heart. And if
you shulde herein be destroy and
bring to hatefull confusion, then
maye you lawefully complayne
that you haue taken. Ponder I
beseche you louinge countreey
men, what our commen parent
and native countrey Englande
hathe saied. Talk therewith to
your remembraunce what shee
mygh̄t saye in waye of iuste
complaynte: and then see if by
anye meanes you can either ex-
cuse your selues as not acquain
ted wᵗ the cause of her greifes,
or accuse her, as causeles com-
playning afore she hathe nede.

I sup-

I suppose you not to bee so
grosse and so blind, that you see
not your disorder: nor so impu-
dent and shameles, that you ac-
knowledge not your knowen
malice, nor yet so desperate and
vtterlye destitute of grace,
that you wyll not hereafter re-
tourne your selues, partly dis-
horted by the manifolde euils
following such vnnatural prac-
tises, partly allured by the high
merites and incomparable mer-
cie of so gracious a princesse as
God hathe appointed nowe to
gouerne ouer vs. Here wyll
end, as one pitying your former
case, and yet not despairing
your better gouernaunce
here after.

FINIS.

The dangerous nature of
herefie. folio.i.
Wherin the ſpirituall grounde of wyates
rebellion. eodem.
Rebellion the effects of hereſie. eo.
wyates repaire to London. fol.ii.
wyates returne into Kent. eodem
wyates firſt diſcrie at Maydſtone.fo.iii.
wyat made not religion the pre-
tence of his rebellion. eodem
The colour of wyates rebellion. eodē
wyates preparatiue to rebellion.fo.iiii.
wyat vſeth vntrue perſuaſions to fur
ther his rebellion. eodem
The people abuſed by wyates vntrue
perſuaſions. fol.v.
The nature of an heretike is to ſay one
thing and thinke another. eodem.
wyates owne wordes proue hereſie
to be the grounde of his rebellion.eodē
Hereſie the rule and guide of wyates
life. folio.vi.
Maiſter Chriſtopher Roper appre-
hended by the rebelles. eodem.

wordes at his arraignment.
eodem.
Diuerse men put to penaunce by wearyng
of bulletes before the Maiors doores.
The Maiestes commission to diuers
of the Iuste to hoyle and sette at large
the prisoners fol.lxxviii.
The Maiestes wonderfull mercye.
fol.lxxix.
Englande spoketh. fo.lxxxi.
The earle of Huntleys wordes to the
duke of Somersete. fol.lxxxiii.

Imprynted at London
by Robert Caly within the pre
cincte of the late dissolued
house of the Grey Freres
in Newe
Hospitall, called
Christes Hos
pitall.
The xvi. daye of De
cembre.
1564.

MVSEVM